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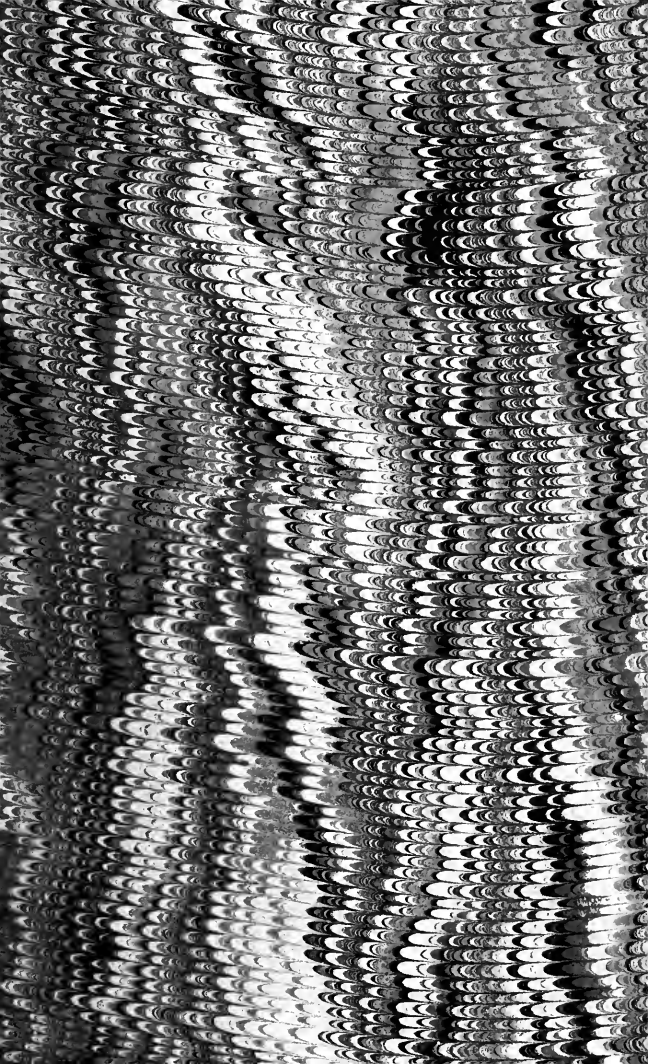
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James Hartman

THE LIFE
OF
JOHN, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

BY CHARLES BUCKE,

AUTHOR OF "ON THE BEAUTIES, HARMONIES, AND SUBLIMITIES OF NATURE,"
"THE BOOK OF HUMAN CHARACTER," ETC. ETC.

"To whom has this country ever been under greater obligation than
to the Duke of Marlborough?"

"To conquer DESPOTS is to conquer TIME."

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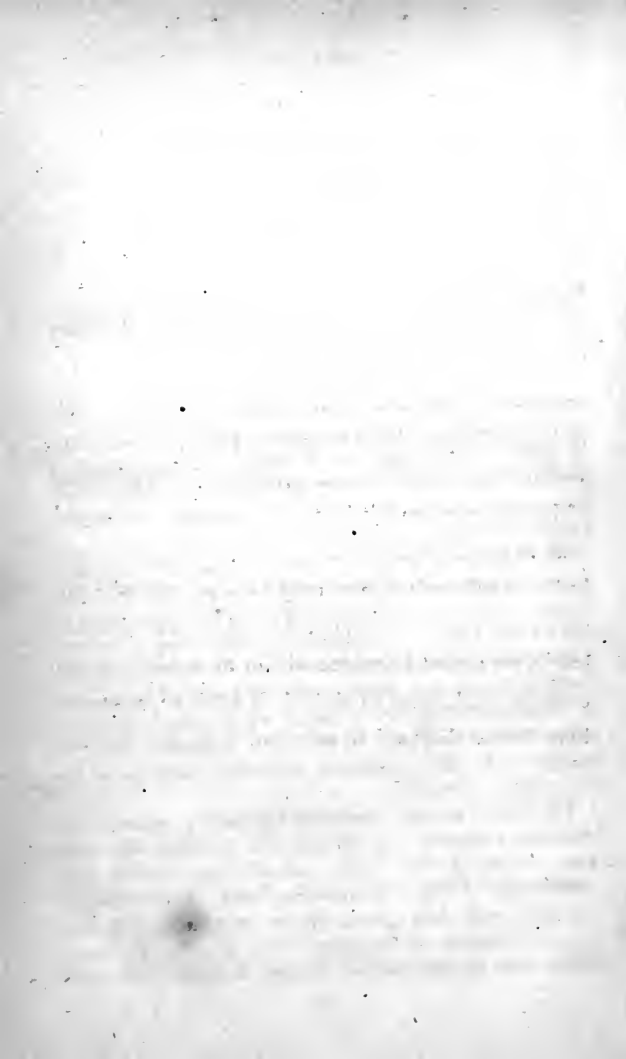
PREFACE.

THE following pages contain an abstract of all, that has been written, essential to the understanding the character of the illustrious personage of whom they treat. The author, (or rather the compiler,) lays no claim whatever to originality; his only merits,—if indeed he have any at all,—being confined to his having availed himself of an opportunity of showing some skill in the art of compression; and of having observed that strictest of all biographical duties,—the truth. Being of no party, and never having been, he stands aloof from all bias. He has given Marlborough, therefore, no political or even private virtues, which he does not believe him to have possessed; nor has he attempted to shield him from the effects of any part of his conduct; one or two points of which, it must be confessed, were rather

equivocal, to say the least of them. The result of the trial, however, is, that he comes out of the furnace, in a great measure, purified; and standing, in bold relief (with another illustrious personage, now living, for a companion), at the head of all the military persons, that have, in any period of our history, cast mantles of glory over this proud, transcendant, and, hitherto, unequalled country. Had his victories,—one of which has never been surpassed,—been followed up, in treaties, with the same firmness of purpose and the same honesty of judgment which attended that, gained on the plains of Waterloo, a thousand interests had been advanced, and a multitude of subsequent evils been happily avoided. As it is, it proves how little to the purpose it is for heroes to expose themselves in the field; if others, who neither risk their persons nor even their reputations, are permitted to neutralise all their victories, either in the camp, the closet or the senate.

There is one subject stated in this volume, which it is thought proper to direct immediate attention to. During a short visit to Blenheim House, last

autumn,—made with a view of obtaining correct information in respect to a very important matter, treated of in this volume,—the author was informed of the circumstance, recorded in page 167. The country, it is believed, has little or no knowledge in regard to the matter, there stated. A great injustice, as well as a great act of impolicy, seems to have been committed; and it appears, (at least to the compiler,) high time that so great a wrong should no longer be permitted to exist. It is a subject, well worthy the immediate attention and consideration of Parliament; and it is, therefore, earnestly hoped, that no great length of time will be suffered to elapse before it is repaired, not only as it regards the present and future, but the past. The descendants of our heroes *must* be protected; or no confidence can ever be established in the minds of those, who may hereafter be disposed to serve us.



L I F E

OF

JOHN, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

JOHN CHURCHILL, Duke of Marlborough, was the second son of Sir Winston Churchill. He was born at Ashe, in the parish of Musburg, in the county of Devon, about noon, on the 24th of June, 1650, and four days after was baptised by the Rev. Matthew Drake, rector of that parish.

Sir Winston's eldest son having died in his infancy, John became heir to the family name. Of his education little has been recorded. The chief that is known is, that he acquired the rudiments of knowledge from a clergyman, who lived in the neighbourhood of his father, from whom he imbibed so ardent an attachment to the Church of England, that he never hesitated, as the reader will hereafter find, to sacrifice all other interests whenever they came in competition with it.

The father having established himself at court soon after the restoration of Charles the Second, the son was placed at St. Paul's school, then under the mastership of Dr. Crumleholm; and, there, though his stay was but short, he is supposed, by the frequent reading of Vegetius' work *De Re Militari*, which was in the school library, to have been first

awakened to the ambition of distinguishing himself in military affairs. At this school, however, he was permitted to remain but a very short time; for his father,—anxious to introduce his children early into life,—succeeded in procuring for his son the situation of page of honour to the Duke of York; and for his only daughter, Arabella, that of maid of honour to the duchess.

Shortly after these appointments, the Duke of York, happy in every opportunity that might exercise his own skill in arms, held frequent reviews of the guards; and young Churchill having shown great assiduity at these times, the duke became so pleased with the indications of military ambition he exhibited, that he inquired of him, one day, what he could do for him, as a first step to fortune. On this Churchill fell on his knees, and earnestly petitioned his royal highness to honour him with a pair of colours. The duke promised that his request should be complied with; and, as a surety of future favour, his royal highness soon after gave his young favourite the post he had petitioned for.

This appointment has been attributed to the influence which his sister, Arabella, had obtained over the affections of the duke. But this could not have been the case. For, let that influence have been, in the after-time, ever so great, certain it is that, at this period, the influence had not commenced.

Not long after this, Churchill embarked for Tangiers; and many idle tales were conjured up to account for that enterprise: among which this—that, during the time the court was at Oxford, (1665,) the Duchess of York had indicated more kindness and favour to the young aspirant, than her husband, the duke, thought prudent; and that he grew, at length,

so jealous, that he took the first opportunity he could find of sending him abroad. That this, however, was not the case, is evident from the circumstance, that Churchill staid at Tangiers but a very short time; and that when he returned, it was at the instance of the duke himself. Besides, at that period, the young ensign was not more than fifteen years of age.

Though his stay at Tangiers was short, he was engaged in most of the sallies and skirmishes, which occurred during the siege with the Moors; and in those engagements he did not fail to exhibit dawnings of that courage and conduct, which, in after years, placed him at the head of all the heroes of his time.

Returning to England the same year in which he had sailed, the duke commanded his attendance; the king himself (Charles II.) gave him frequent proofs of favour; and the Duke of Monmouth having been sent to the Continent with 6,000 men, to assist France against Holland, Churchill was permitted to accompany him; and the French army being commanded by the greatest generals of that time, (the Prince of Condé and Marshal Turenne,) he had very favourable opportunities of improving his military talent and genius.

This appointment, as well as the gift of ensigney, did not fail to call forth many observations; and scandal has not failed to leave its impression to the future time. It is broadly stated, for instance, that his being sent to join the French army arose from the circumstance, that King Charles had discovered an intrigue between the elegant and handsome Marlborough and one of his own mistresses. Though there has been no positive evidence left on record, in regard to this matter, it is very certain, that the

Duchess of Cleveland held him in very great admiration; and even contributed to his being able to make at various times a comparatively splendid appearance. "Struck by his beautiful figure and captivating manners, when an ensign of the guards," says Lord Chesterfield, "she gave him five thousand pounds, with which he bought an annuity for his life, of five hundred a year, of my grandfather, Halifax, which was the foundation of his subsequent fortune." The purchasing of the annuity must, of necessity, be true; since Lord Chesterfield asserts its being bought of his grandfather; how Churchill came by the money, however, is not so certain.

The service, to which Churchill was called, was in that memorable campaign, in which the French, overrunning the United Provinces with a boldness and rapidity till then nearly unknown, had succeeded in reaching the vicinity of Amsterdam. He was therefore present, under his commanding officer, the Duke of Monmouth, at the taking of Orsoy, Rhineberg, Emerick, Doesburg, Zutphen and Utrecht. He volunteered his services on every occasion of difficulty and danger; and in so signal a manner did he engage the notice of Turenne, that when a French officer, during the siege of Nimeguen, had failed to retain a post of consequence, which he had been appointed to defend, Turenne instantly exclaimed—"I will bet a supper and a dozen of claret, that my handsome Englishman will recover the post, with half the number of men that the officer commanded who has lost it." Turenne was far from being deceived in this opinion. Churchill regained the post which had been lost, after a short but desperate struggle, won the marshal his wager, and gained for himself the applause and admiration of the whole army.

In the ensuing year, he greatly signalised himself at the siege of Maestricht. During this siege there were a thousand glorious actions ; among which one, performed by Captain Churchill, was very remarkable. A lodgment having been made in what was called the "half-moon," he accompanied a party, commanded by the Duke of Monmouth ; and, at the head of his own company, planted the banner of France on the summit of the rampart. In this action he was slightly wounded.

His conduct in this affair was so highly appreciated by Louis XIV., that he gave him thanks at the head of the army ; and recommended him, in a most especial manner, to the notice of his own sovereign. The Duke of Monmouth conceded to him the whole honour of the exploit ; and his Grace moreover confessed afterwards to the king, that to Captain Churchill's gallantry and discretion he was indebted for his life.

These campaigns may be considered as having afforded opportunities for improving his talents, and laying the groundwork of that consummate skill, which subsequently rendered him the wonder and admiration of his age.

The king's previous knowledge of him, and the recommendation of the French sovereign, procured for him higher honours. Louis himself made him lieutenant-colonel, on the resignation of Lord Peterborough ; and on his return to England he was made gentleman of the bed-chamber and master of the robes to his earliest patron, the Duke of York.

To a fine person Churchill added a noble countenance and peculiarly fascinating manners. He could not fail, therefore, to be entangled in the gallantries of a dissipated court. Various accounts of his engagements in this respect have been published ; but as

many of them rest upon very equivocal authority, we think it better at present to take no further notice of them. That he was indebted to the Duchess of Cleveland for a thousand services is certain; but that these services might not be absolutely the result of an illegitimate affection is rendered the more probable by the certainty, that he had a strong claim to her protection from affinity; he having been nearly related to her on the mother's side.

Be this and other analogous matters true or false, certain it is that at this period he became captivated by the beauty of Miss Sarah Jennings, daughter and co-heiress (with her sister, Lady Tyrconnel) of Richard Jennings of Sandridge, in the county of Hertford; a gentleman of ancient and distinguished lineage. This lady (who had been appointed maid of honour to the Duchess of York at the early age of twelve) was born on the day (May 29, 1660) on which Charles the Second was restored to his dominions. She was very beautiful; of an animated countenance and commanding figure; of great prudence and propriety of conduct; of much wit, and in conversation great vivacity. The letters that passed between this illustrious couple have not been published; but Mr. Coxe, who was admitted to an opportunity of seeing them, speaks of them in a very agreeable manner. "They display," says he, "the peculiar features of their respective characters; and show the origin and growth of that deep and ardent attachment, to which Churchill owed a higher degree both of happiness and disquietude, than usually attends the nuptial union. His notes in particular breathe a romantic tenderness and keen sensibility, which appear foreign to the general sedateness of his character. Indeed, this correspond-

ence fully exemplifies the eulogium, afterward paid to him by King William, that, "to the coolest head he united the warmest heart." The letters of the lady were equally indicative of her character. "They evince," continues Mr. Coxe, "the vivacity and petulance of her temper; and display that alternate haughtiness and courtesy, which gave her so powerful a command over the passions of those to whom she was attached."

Their union, however, was for a time retarded by many circumstances; want of competent fortune, for instance; a reluctance on the part of the colonel's father and mother, who joined in being anxious to unite him with a lady of large fortune, though possibly of less personal attractions. This produced an altercation between Miss Jennings and the colonel. She reproached him with infidelity; and, with affected generosity, urged him to renounce all attachment to her, since she would be the last person in the world to stand in the way of his future prospects. The courtship, indeed, was attended with numberless "complaints and apologies, bickerings and reconciliations." At length the marriage took place (1678) in the presence of the Duchess of York, who presented several gifts of value to the bride; and Churchill, from that moment, renounced all the irregularities that, in so striking a manner, distinguished, or rather disgraced, the court and age of Charles the Second.

Soon after the marriage, Churchill obtained the command of a regiment of foot; and being still in the service of the duke, he was engaged in various matters for that prince, and hurried from place to place; sometimes sent abroad; then returning; and once in danger of shipwreck: for the duke having

embarked on board the Gloucester frigate, then lying off Margate, with a view of going to Scotland, the ship struck near the Lemon and Ore in Yarmouth roads, and in a short time took in not less than seven feet of water. The duke and the colonel narrowly escaped with their lives; but several persons of note lost theirs; amongst whom were the Earl of Roxburgh, the Lord O'Brian, the Laird of Hopeton, Sir Joseph Douglas, and Mr. Hyde, the duke's brother-in-law. To preserve the memory of this escape a medal was struck; on the face of which was the bust of the duke, with an inscription; and on the reverse a ship sinking in the ocean, and a rock and castle standing at a distance, with these words—" *Impavidum feriant.*"

The duke's government of Scotland was exceedingly arbitrary; he gave some tokens of cruelty; and showed an inveterate hatred to the presbyterians. All which passing under the eyes of Churchill, he became confirmed in the sentiments which led to the important line he afterwards pursued.

So many important affairs are to be related in this history, that we must pass over many less important ones. The Duke of York was too deeply interested in the succession to the crown to remain long at ease in Scotland. He returned, therefore, to London; but, being very unpopular, the opposition succeeded in driving him back to Scotland; where, on arriving, he soon after despatched Churchill to the king, with advice to adopt measures for what he was pleased to call "the interests and safety" of both.

These measures, however, were of so violent a character, that the king refused to father them. The negociator, however, at the same time, acted with so much address and discretion, that the king never

hesitated to confide in him; and, on his return to Scotland, the duke was prevailed upon not to reappear at court, lest his presence should exasperate his enemies and awaken further suspicion.

At this time, Churchill's wife, who had accompanied the duchess to London, was, to their great joy, safely delivered of a daughter; and the king, having obtained the power of giving his brother a permanent establishment at court, the colonel accompanied him to London; where, as a reward for his services to both royal brothers, he was created, by letters patent, Baron Churchill of Aymouth, in the county of Berwick.

When Lady Churchill was first introduced at court, and appointed to a station in the Duchess of York's household, the Princess Anne, who was about three years younger than herself, felt so greatly attached to her, that they became, at length, inseparable companions. When the Princess Anne became the wife of Prince George of Denmark, therefore, which occurred about this time, the princess managed to get her friend appointed lady of her bed-chamber: an appointment which the princess made known to her in the following manner:—

“The duke came in just as you were gone, and made no difficulties; but has promised me that I shall have you; which, I assure you, is a great joy to me: I should say a great deal for your kindness in offering it; but I am not good at compliments. I will only say, that I do take it extremely kind, and shall be ready at any time to do you all the service that lies in my power.”

This appointment furnished a thousand opportunities of increasing the affection, that already subsisted between the ladies, and a correspondence took place, which was kept up for many years; till, in order

to avoid constraint, the duchess informs us, that two names were adopted in order to render the whole more easy and familiar. "I," says her Grace, "chose the name of Freeman, as more conformable to the frankness of my disposition ; and the princess adopted that of Morley."

Most historians ascribe all the rigours of the last year of King Charles's reign, and all the measures taken by his Majesty for the advancement of absolute power, to the counsels of the Duke of York. In these, Churchill, however, had no concern ; since, from the marriage of the Princess Anne, till the death of Charles, which took place February 1682, Churchill does not appear to have taken any part whatever in public affairs.

On the day after the king's death, James having been proclaimed, one of his first acts was to make his favourite lieutenant-general ; and to despatch him, in the quality of ambassador, to Paris, in order to communicate the event to the French king, as well as to return thanks for the various largesses, his Majesty had received from the bounty of that monarch. This mission being accomplished, he returned to London in a few days ; but not without leaving in the mind of Lord Galway, who was then in Paris, some indications as to what he feared, and what his resolution was, in case those fears should prove true. "Should his Majesty make any attempt to change either our religion or our constitution," said he, "I will instantly quit his service."

Soon after his return, he was constituted high steward of St. Albans, he was permitted to occupy an honourable place at the king's coronation ; and was soon after raised to an English peerage, by the title of Baron Churchill of Sandridge, in the county

of Hertford: Sandridge being his wife's paternal estate.

To this dignity he was raised in the month of May; in that of June he was, with the rank of brigadier, despatched to Salisbury to take command of the forces there assembled against the rebels, who had risen in favour of the Duke of Monmouth. In this service he acted with great prudence, vigilance, and activity: he kept his troops, we are told, in continued motion; collecting intelligence, scouring the country, and dispersing the bands of the rebels, though considerably superior in number. For these services he was created major-general.

While thus engaged, a trumpeter arrived from the Duke of Monmouth, with a letter, claiming Churchill's allegiance to him as King of England. Churchill dismissed the trumpeter, and sent no answer; but continued harassing the enemy so much that the unfortunate Monmouth was compelled to concentrate his forces and risk a general engagement.

This battle was fought at Sedgemoor. The details of battles are, for the most part, difficult to convey, and equally difficult to comprehend; we shall, therefore, only state, that the battle of Sedgemoor was fatal to the Duke of Monmouth; and that Churchill's part of the victory was so splendid, from the negligence and want of vigilance of the commander-in-chief, Lord Feversham, that, had he not been present, it is more than probable the engagement would have terminated in a defeat. He not only saved the royal army from a surprise, on the eve of the battle, but greatly contributed to the success by his courage, promptitude, and decision. As a reward for this, he was appointed colonel of the third regiment of Horse-Guards.

It is very remarkable, that, from this period till the closing scene of James's reign, little has been stated in regard to Lord Churchill. He was raised to no office in the state; and though the cruelties of Jefferies in the west, the king's assumption of a dispensing power, the forbidding all preaching or writing against the Church of Rome, the establishment of a high ecclesiastical court, the proceedings against the Bishop of London, and the formation of a camp at Hounslow, the sending of an ambassador to Rome, the dispensing with the penal laws and tests, the prosecution of the bishops, and other matters of essential import, passed under the eyes of Lord Churchill; yet little has been left on record as to the part he took. It is supposed, however, that the discordance of his principles, political and religious, with those of the sovereign, produced some coolness: and it is very certain, that he was no friend to the designs of the king to establish tyranny and to introduce the Roman ritual; and, as full evidence of this, we need only transcribe the letter which he wrote to the Prince of Orange by command of the Princess Anne.

May 17, 1687.

“The Princess of Denmark having ordered me to discourse with Monsieur Dykvelt, I, to let him know her resolutions, so that he might let your Highness and the princess her sister know that she was resolved, by the assistance of God, to suffer all extremities, even to death itself, rather than be thought to change her religion, I thought it my duty to your Highness and the princess royal, by this opportunity of Monsieur Dykvelt, to give you assurances under my own hand, that my places and the king's favour I set at nought, in comparison of being true to my religion. In all things but this the king may command me; and I call God to witness, that even with

joy I should expose my life for his service, so sensible am I of his favours. I know the troubling you, sir, with this much of myself, I being of so little use to your Highness, is very impertinent; but I think it may be a great ease to your Highness and the princess to be satisfied, that the Princess of Denmark is safe in the trusting of me; I being resolved, although I cannot live the life of a saint, if there be ever occasion for it, to show the resolution of a martyr."

It is very difficult to conceive how Churchill, who was so near the king's person, and so much in his favour and intimacy, could abstain from being engaged in some of the pernicious councils in which the king was engaged, without giving offence; and that he did not, has been quoted as a striking proof of his prudence; for he was not among the number of those who dissembled their real sentiments; nor has he ever been charged with flattering the bigotry and infatuation of his master. On the contrary, he is said to have laboured, to the last moment, to rouse him to a sense of his danger; and went even so far as to remonstrate, though, of course, in respectful and grateful terms, against all the encroachments he saw going on, and the arbitrary system of government, the king was endeavouring to introduce. And here we may record a very remarkable conversation, which took place at Winchester, on the day in which the king had touched several persons for the king's evil. "Well, Churchill," said his Majesty, "what do my subjects say about this ceremony of touching in the church?" "Truly," replied Marlborough, "they do not approve it; and it is the general opinion, that your Majesty is paving the way to the introduction of popery." "Now," exclaimed the king, "have I not given my royal word, and will they not believe their king? I

have given liberty of conscience to others ; I was always of opinion, that toleration was necessary for all Christian people ; and most certainly I will not be abridged of that liberty myself ; nor suffer those of my own religion to be prevented from paying their devotions to God in their own way." Upon this, Churchill said, " What I spoke, sir, proceeded partly from my zeal for your Majesty's service, which I prefer above all things, next to that of God ; and humbly beseech your Majesty to believe, that no subject in the three kingdoms will venture further than I will to purchase your favour and good-liking. But as I have been bred a Protestant, and intend to live and die in that communion, as above nine parts in ten of the whole people are of that persuasion ; and I fear, (which I say from the excess of duty,) from the genius of the English, and their natural aversion to the Roman Catholic worship, some consequences, which I dare not so much as name, and which I cannot contemplate without horror." " I tell you, Churchill," interrupted the king, " I will exercise my own religion in such a manner as I shall think fitting. I will show favour to my Catholic subjects, and be a common father to all my Protestants, of what religion soever ; but I am to remember that I am a king, and to be obeyed by them. As to the consequences, I shall leave them to Providence, and make use of the power God has put into my hands, to prevent any thing that shall be injurious to my honour, or derogatory to the duty that is owing to me." This conversation is recorded by the author of the lives of Marlborough and Eugene : " It took place," he says, " at the deanery at Winchester, while his Majesty and Churchill were walking in the garden : I was myself," continues he, " present at the dinner

which ensued, and received a relation of what had passed from Lord Churchill himself."

Churchill had a difficult trial: gratitude and respect for religion were now at issue. Like an honourable man; he decided in favour of the latter. "Mr. Sydney," said he, in a letter to the Prince of Orange*, "will let you know how I intend to behave myself. I think it is what I owe to God and my country. My honour I take leave to put in your Majesty's hands, in which I think it safe. If you think there is any thing else I ought to do, you have but to command me; I shall pay an entire obedience to it; being resolved to die in that religion, that it has pleased God to give you both the will and power to protect."

The history of the Revolution is so well known, and has been so fully treated of by various writers, that it would be superfluous to say more of it here than what is necessary to illustrate the conduct and character of the illustrious person of whom we treat. The many provocations the king had given the nation, and the little prospect they could have of any remedy on his side, at length induced many leading lords, spiritual and temporal, secretly to invite the Prince of Orange to come over from Holland to their assistance: and of these, there can be little doubt, Churchill, however reluctant he might be, was one.

The king, nevertheless, was so far from suspecting any dereliction on the part of Lord Churchill, that, when the Prince of Orange had actually landed, he intrusted him with a command of a brigade in the army, which he himself led as far as Salisbury, to repel the invasion, and even raised him to the rank of lieutenant-general. That some suspicion, how-

* August 4th, 1688.

ever, was sustained against him by others is very evident; for Lord Feversham conjured the king, in a manner the most urgent, to arrest him, "as a terror to the rest." James, however, whether from fear, policy, or affection, or from the hope that Churchill could never entertain a wish to desert him, refused to listen to the proposal. Added to which, perhaps, he might apprehend, that such a procedure would excite a mutiny in the whole army.

In this the king made a perfect mistake: for Churchill, the next day, having heard something of what had passed between the king and Lord Feversham, went over to the Prince of Orange, with the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Berkeley, and four or five captains of his own regiment. On leaving the town, he sent the following letter:—

"Sir,—Since men are seldom suspected of sincerity when they act contrary to their interests; and though my dutiful behaviour to your Majesty in the worst of times (for which I acknowledge my poor services over paid) may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your Majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reasonably convince your Majesty and the world, that I am actuated by a higher principle, when I offer that violence to my inclination and interest, as to desert your Majesty at a time when your affairs seem to challenge the strictest obedience from all your subjects, much more from one who lies under the greatest obligations to your Majesty. This, sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my conscience, and a necessary concern for my religion, which no good man can oppose; and with which, I am instructed, nothing can come in competition. Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your Majesty has hitherto represented those unhappy designs, which inconsiderate and self-interested men have formed

against your Majesty's true interest, and the Protestant religion ; but as I can no longer join with such to give a pretence by conquest to bring them to effect ; so I will always with the hazard of my life and fortune (so much your Majesty's due) endeavour to preserve your royal person and lawful rights, with all the tender concern and dutiful respect that becomes, &c."

When the king heard of this defection, he was greatly affected ; and, turning to Lord Feversham, "Feversham," said his Majesty, "I little expected this severe blow ; but you, my lord, formed but too true a judgment of this person, and his intentions, when you proposed, as you did yesterday, that he should be secured, as well as the rest of the fugitives. I have nothing to do now but to throw myself into the hands of Providence." Such was the natural effect upon the king ; and it must be conceded, that nothing could justify the defection of Churchill but the inviolable dictates of his conscience, which prompted him to incur the charge of ingratitude, rather than cease to adhere to the church in which he had been bred, and the constitution of the country in which he had been born. In regard to this defection, Hume has left the following sentiment:—"Lord Churchill had been raised from the rank of a page, had been invested with a high command in the army, and been created a peer ; and had owed his whole fortune to the king's favour : yet even he could resolve, during the present extremity, to desert his unhappy master, who had ever reposed entire confidence in him. This conduct was a signal sacrifice to passive virtue of every duty in private life, and required ever after the most upright, disinterested, and public-spirited behaviour, to render it justifiable."

On quitting the king's camp Lord Churchill and

his party directed their way to Axminster (twenty miles from Exeter), and his lordship was received by the Prince of Orange with distinguished marks of attention and respect.

Churchill's defection was the signal for that of others ; especially of Prince George of Denmark and his consort the Princess Anne ; the latter withdrawing herself under the conduct of Lady Churchill, who, as we have already stated, was her chief favourite as well as groom of the stole.

On the approach of the prince to London, and the flight of James to Feversham, Churchill was despatched to London in order to put himself at the head of his own regiment of guards, and to bring the prince intelligence as to the manner in which all things were regarded in London. This commission Churchill executed with great promptitude and address ; and so favourable was the report he rendered, that the prince determined on immediately hastening to the capital.

James having departed, Churchill gave his assistance to the convention parliament ; he was, also, one of the peers who associated and signed a compact to stand by one another in pursuing the ends of the Prince of Orange's declaration ; and that if any attempt should be made upon his person, it should be punished on all by whom the attempt should be made. He was, also, one of the peers who, on the 25th of December, addressed his highness to take upon him the administration of public affairs. Another important matter was arranged and effected by Lord Churchill. In conjunction with his wife he induced the Princess Anne (James's daughter) to postpone her own succession to the throne, in favour of the Prince and Princess of Orange. On the 14th

of February he was sworn a member of the privy council, and made gentleman of the bed-chamber; and in April (two days before the coronation) he was raised to the dignity of Earl of Marlborough.

Churchill had previously, after the departure of James, assisted in the convention parliament, and was one of the peers who associated in support of the prince's declaration and in the defence of his person. But when the question came on in regard to placing the prince on the throne, either alone or in conjunction with his consort, the Princess Mary, Churchill voted for a regency; and when the contending parties rose so high as to threaten a counter-revolution, and there appeared no other alternative than to recall James, or confer the crown on William, Marlborough, from delicacy, absented himself from the house of peers during the discussion, which terminated in declaring the throne vacant. Several other peers having acted in the same manner, the question was decided by seven voices only.

The king having been crowned, and his authority ratified, an altercation took place between his Majesty and the princess Anne. The cause was this. The princess having given up all claim to the throne till after the death of the king, (now William III.) her royal highness naturally expected, that some permanent allowance would be settled upon her. To this the king objected; and even went so far as to hesitate in continuing the allowance of 30,000*l.* a year, the late king had allowed her. In this matter the queen (Mary), the princess's sister, took part with the king; and the subject caused that celebrated quarrel which ended in dividing the whole family.

In this dispute Lord and Lady Churchill took part with the Princess Anne; and the affair termi-

nated in the king's reluctant consent, at the recommendation of parliament, to allow the princess 50,000*l.* a year.

This matter having been brought to a successful issue chiefly through the exertions and influence of Lord and Lady Marlborough, the princess became more attached to them than ever; but the effect was otherwise with the king and queen. Notwithstanding this, war having been declared against France, in consequence of the French king having not only received the ex-king in a distinguished manner at his court, but sent French forces into Ireland to support his cause, Marlborough was intrusted with the command of the British forces acting against the French in the Netherlands.

He arrived at Maestricht on the second of June (1689), and having held a conference there with the Prince of Waldeck on the operations of the campaign, they both set out the next day for the camp.

Being inferior in force to the enemy, the confederates were reduced to the necessity of acting on the defensive: but the French having attacked the town of Walcourt, an action took place; the result of which was, that the enemy was compelled to draw back in great haste and disorder; leaving behind them some cannon and ammunition, with two thousand officers and soldiers killed and wounded; the loss of the allies being only two hundred.

In this action the gallantry and conduct of Marlborough were so conspicuous and effective, that the Prince of Waldeck assured King William, that he had "manifested greater talents in one day, than generals of longer experience had done in many years." On hearing this, the king wrote to him in the following manner:—

"I am very happy that my troops behaved so well in

the affair of Walcourt. It is to you that this advantage is principally owing. You will please accordingly to accept my thanks, and rest assured that your conduct will induce me to confer on you still further marks of my esteem and friendship, on which you may always rely."

At the close of the campaign Marlborough returned to England; and the king received him with great cordiality and distinction. James, in the mean time, having landed in Ireland, and William having determined on contending for his crown in person, Marlborough was invited to accompany his Majesty in that service. But feeling the indelicacy of fighting his benefactor in person, Marlborough declined that service: when, however, the defeat at the Boyne had compelled the ex-king to leave Ireland, he voluntarily tendered his services to reduce Cork and Kinsale; the presence of William having become necessary in London.

Marlborough remained in Ireland only thirty-seven days; but in that short time he compelled Cork to surrender, and the garrison of Kinsale to capitulate; straitened the communications with France, and confined them to the province of Ulster, where they could now subsist but with great difficulty.

Having effected these important matters, Marlborough returned with his prisoners to England; and on being introduced to the King, his Majesty was pleased to compliment him with the assurance, that "he knew no man so fully qualified for a general, who had seen so few campaigns."

His stay was short; for his services were thought still to be wanted; and he embarked, therefore, again for Ireland; where he remained till summoned to England preparatory to being nominated to a new command on the Continent. Before we accompany

him thither, however, we must state a most extraordinary and astounding fact. While Marlborough was serving the interest of King William in the most effective manner, he was carrying on a secret correspondence with his old master!

This is attested by the exiled king himself, and has never been denied. "The correspondence with my Lord (meaning Churchill) was still kept up, for though so much former treachery, and so little other proofs of a change, than words and protestations, made his intentions liable to suspicion; yet he put so plausible a face upon his reasons and actions, they had at least a specious appearance of fair and honest dealing, and had this reason above all others to be credited, that not only he but ——— was out of favour with the Prince of Orange, and reaped no other benefit from their past infidelities and the infamy of having committed them; and the most interested men's repentance may be credited, when they can reasonably hope to mend their fortune by repairing their fault, and better their condition by returning to their duty*."

Several apologies have been made for this conduct, but none that will stand the test of rigid examination. The melancholy fact is, he apprehended that a change of public sentiment might eventually restore the exiled monarch to the throne of his ancestors. "Under the apparent influence of these considerations," says Mr. Coxe, "Marlborough listened to the overtures of the exiled monarch as early as the commencement of 1691, and through Colonel Sackville and Mr. Bulkeley, two of the Jacobite agents, he testified, in the most unqualified terms, his contrition

* Life of James II., collected out of materials written with his own hand, vol. ii. p. 476, 4to.

for his past conduct, and anxiety to make amends for his defection. From this period he and his friend Godolphin occasionally maintained a clandestine intercourse with the court of St. Germain's, and even made many communications on the state of public affairs and domestic transactions."

It has been said, that the promises of Marlborough and Godolphin were merely illusory; and intended merely to secure an indemnity in case of a counter-revolution. View it, however, in what light we will, it was conduct very unworthy such illustrious persons; nor does it at all lessen the deed to acknowledge, that many persons of high consequence acted in the same manner.

In this duplicity he was not suspected. Soon after his last return from Ireland, therefore, he was appointed to a high and confidential post under the king, who now prepared to go to the Continent to take command of the army. In this campaign, the conduct of Marlborough was so extraordinary, that Prince Vaudemont, having been desired by his majesty to state his opinion of the English generals, answered, "There is something in the earl of Marlborough inexpressible! for the fire of Kirk, the thought of Lanier, the skill of Mackay, and the bravery of Colchester, are all united in his person: and I have lost all knowledge of physiognomy, which never has yet deceived me, if any subject, your Majesty has, can ever attain such a height of military glory, as that to which this combination of sublime perfections must raise him." On hearing this enthusiastic panegyric, the king answered, with a smile, "Cousin, you have done your part in answering my question; and I believe the earl of Marlborough will do his to verify your prediction."

At the end of the campaign, the king returned to England, and Marlborough returned also ; but soon to encounter a very different scene. For, on the 10th of January, Lord Nottingham waited upon him, by command of the king, to announce his dismissal from all his offices, civil and military ; and to prohibit, for the future, his appearance at court. On the 5th of May, he was suddenly arrested on a charge of high-treason.

His dismissal from court has been ascribed to his having, with the countess, acted a decided part in the misunderstandings and quarrels, that were constantly taking place between the queen and the Princess Anne. This, however, was not the only cause : one equally effective, and perhaps more so, was, that the earl had frequently presumed to make remonstrances to the king against his reserve to the English, and his evident partiality to his Dutch adherents.

The arrest had a different origin. The Earl of Scarsdale, and Dr. Spratt, bishop of Rochester, were arrested at the same time. They were committed to the Tower on a charge equally false and disgraceful. It arose out of the circumstance of a man in Newgate, named Young, who, expert in counterfeiting hands, had drawn up an association in favour of James the Second, and forged several letters, to which he had annexed the signatures of the bishop of Rochester, Lord Cornbury, Sir Basil Firebrass, and the Earls of Scarsdale and Marlborough. Having done this, he found means to get the papers and letters concealed in the palace of the Bishop of Rochester ; where, having given notice of such documents to the government, search was made, and the instruments were discovered ; in consequence of which the par-

ties were arrested, and committed to the Tower. These forgeries were committed in the hope, that the giving notice of such instruments would be liberally rewarded. The whole matter, however, was found out, and the authors condemned to be whipped and placed in the pillory.

The discharge of Marlborough, nevertheless, was not immediate. He was held in custody for some time. This detention arose out of his being suspected of holding secret intercourse with the exiled family. That he did hold such intercourse is certain. The Princess of Denmark, too—so great was the panic excited by the expedition then preparing in the French ports in favour of the exiled king—made overtures to her father. This overture having become known to the king, he ascribed the whole conduct of it to the advice of Lord Marlborough and his countess. The evidence, however, on which the matter rested, was much too slight to justify stronger proceedings, and the earl was in consequence soon after set at liberty ; but not without giving bail.

Though set at liberty, he was not released from suspicion, nor sufficiently punished in the estimation of his enemies. He was, in consequence, struck off the list of privy councillors, as well as the two noblemen who had become his sureties ; viz. the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Marquis of Halifax.

These proceedings gave great offence to many ; amongst the rest, Admiral Russel, who had gained great reputation and conferred signal service by his recent victory off La Hogue, presumed to remonstrate strongly ; closing his remonstrance with the assertion, that Marlborough was “the man who had placed the crown upon the king’s head.” After a long struggle in Parliament in regard to the breach

of privilege, which had been committed in arresting the earl and bishop, Marlborough having appealed to the House of Peers against his detention without a specific charge, the king closed the discussion by discharging his sureties from their recognizances; and the House of Peers vindicated their privileges by a declaration against such arrests and detention in future of any member of their house; and the ministers were compelled to resort for exoneration to a bill of indemnity.

From this period to the death of Queen Mary, the Earl of Marlborough lived estranged from court; sometimes at his seat at Sandridge; and sometimes in the apartment which the countess occupied at Berkeley House, the mansion of the Princess Anne. At this period, the princess, considering him a victim in her cause, proposed to create a new place in his favour in her household, with a salary of 1000*l.* a-year; but this generous intention Marlborough firmly though respectfully declined.

The war on the Continent, however, going on in a very unsatisfactory manner, and Marlborough's friends — Shrewsbury, Godolphin, and Russel — having succeeded to power, the Earl of Shrewsbury took an opportunity of recommending his majesty to employ Marlborough. "Writing on this subject," said his lordship in a letter to the king, "it is impossible to forget what is here become a very general subject of discourse;—the popularity and convenience of receiving Lord Marlborough into your favour. He has been with me to offer his service, with all the duty and fidelity imaginable. What I can say by way of persuasion upon this subject will signify but little; since I very well remember, when your Majesty discoursed with me upon it, in the spring,

you were sufficiently convinced of his usefulness. But some points of a delicate nature, too tender for me to pretend to advise upon, and of which your Majesty is the only judge—if these could be accommodated to your Majesty's satisfaction, I cannot but think that he is very capable of being very serviceable. It is so unquestionably his interest to be faithful, that that single argument makes me not doubt it."

The king, however, was not to be moved. "In respect to what you wrote in your last," returned his majesty, "in regard to Lord Marlborough, I can say no more than that I do not think it for the good of my service to intrust the command of my troops to him." It was, in fact, reported that, previous to his imprisonment, his lady had discovered to her sister (Lady Tyrconnel) a design upon Dunkirk, which had been communicated to Marlborough and two others only; and that the king had reproached him for it, finishing his censure with, "You put greater confidence in your wife than I did in mine."

About six months after this, Queen Mary died; (December 28, 1694), thereby producing a very important change in the situation of the royal family. "She was in her person tall," says one of our historians, "and well-proportioned, with an oval visage, lively eyes, agreeable features, a mild aspect, and an air of dignity. Her apprehension was clear, her memory tenacious, and her judgment solid. She was a zealous Protestant, scrupulously exact in all the duties of devotion, of an even temper, of a calm and mild conversation. She was ruffled by no passion; and seems to have been a stranger to the emotions of natural affection; for she ascended a throne from which her father had been deposed, and

treated her sister as an alien to her blood. In a word, Mary seems to have imbibed the cold disposition and apathy of her husband, and to have centred all her ambition in deserving the epithet of an obedient wife." Her majesty died of the small-pox.

The death of the queen, though it gave occasion to what might be called a new reign, made no alteration in public affairs, but in the royal title, which now, instead of William and Mary, was changed to that of William III. The illness of the queen had been so sudden and violent, that no opportunity had been afforded whereby to soothe the irritation existing between the two sisters; nor any time for an interview. After the queen's death, however, the Princess Anne wrote to the king, in which she expressed her concern at having incurred the displeasure of her late majesty, and declared her readiness to wait upon him and give proofs of her zeal for his interests and respect for his person. This interview was arranged through the medium of Lord Somers; and a reconciliation took place, the king receiving her with kindness, and informing her that St. James's Palace should be appropriated for her future residence. But though the princess was thus in some degree admitted to royal consideration, her friend and councillor, Marlborough, was not so fortunate. Nor did he indeed deserve it; for it appears, from undeniable evidence, that he still kept up a clandestine intercourse with the exiled family. Indeed it is upon absolute record, that, only a few days before he offered his services to William, he communicated to the exiled monarch intelligence of an expedition then in the act of fitting out, for the purpose of destroying the French fleet in Brest harbour. "It is but this day (says Marlborough, in his letter of

May 4) that it came to my knowledge what I now send you ; which is, that the bomb-vessels and the twelve regiments that are now encamped at Portsmouth, together with the two marine regiments, are to be commanded by Talmash, and designed to burn the harbour of Brest and destroy the men-of-war that are there ; this would be a great advantage to England, but no consideration can, or ever shall, hinder me from letting you know what may be for your service ; so you may make what use you think best of this intelligence, which you may depend on to be true."

In allusion to this letter, Macpherson (Original Papers) says, that Marlborough wished to serve James with Louis XIV, and to ruin General Talmash, as well as to be revenged on William. What is equally wonderful, similar evidence exists, that Lord Godolphin, though a minister, made the same disclosure on the preceding day. Such having been the case, we are the less indignant at the charge about this time brought against Marlborough by Sir John Fenwick.

Fenwick was a Jacobite deeply implicated in a plot to assassinate the king. Having been arrested in his attempt to escape, his guilt was rendered manifest by a letter he had addressed to his wife. This letter was to the effect, that, being guilty, he looked upon himself as a dead man, unless powerful application could be made for him, or some of the jury could be bribed to starve out the rest. Being taken before the lords-justices, he denied the accusation against him in full ; but his letter being produced, he was so confounded, that he offered to impart all he knew, provided he was promised his life and excused from appearing as an evidence. This the king

having refused, he threw himself upon the king's mercy.

In order to assure himself of this, he placed in the hands of the lord high steward, the Duke of Devonshire, a paper, which he called his confession, containing vague accounts of several plots and projects, entertained by the Jacobites; with many obscure allusions to persons, who were charged with the ex-king's interests; amongst whom were expressly named, the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Marlborough and Bath, Admiral Russel, and several others of inferior note.

As the whole of this was a mere fabrication, it is not, at this distance of time, necessary to dwell upon it. We shall, therefore, merely give the result. The whole matter was brought before Parliament, where it was voted that the papers which had been read, entitled Sir John Fenwick's Informations, accusing several persons of the realm of disloyalty, were false and scandalous, tending to the subversion of the government, to raise a jealousy between the king and his subjects, and to stifle the truth of controversy. Sir John was immediately attainted, and in virtue of that attainder he expiated his crimes on the scaffold.

After the death of the queen, King William is said to have shown more than his accustomed affection for the Duke of Gloucester, who was now entering his tenth year, and had given so many instances of a forward genius, that it was esteemed proper to take him out of the hands of Lady Fitzharding, his governess, and place him in those of tutors qualified to enable him to become an able and accomplished prince.

The king having, it is said, discovered, that the

extensive correspondence, which had taken place between many noblemen and other subjects with the exiled family, did not arise from disaffection to himself; but out of an apprehension that, by the assistance of France, James might, possibly, be restored; his Majesty was induced to employ many persons who he knew had entered into that correspondence; and, among the rest, Marlborough.

The Duke of Gloucester was the son of the Princess Anne by Prince George of Denmark. She naturally wished to have her son committed to the charge of one, whose accomplishments were of the first order, and whose integrity and discretion she held in high estimation. Her inclinations, too, were in perfect unison with the public voice. The king, however, was averse to the appointment of the Earl of Marlborough as governor to the young duke. He even went so far as to propose its acceptance to the Duke of Shrewsbury. The duke, however, respectfully declining the appointment, on the plea of illness, his Majesty was pleased to appoint Marlborough to the office, and Bishop Burnet to that of preceptor.

Though the king had hesitated about this matter a long time, and was even exceedingly reluctant, he was pleased to confer the honour in a very gracious and flattering manner. "Teach him, my lord," said his Majesty to Marlborough, "to be what you are yourself, and he will not want accomplishments." The same evening the earl was restored to his place in the privy council. He was, also, re-appointed to his military rank and all the employments of which he had been deprived; and, two years after, the king having signified in council, that he intended to pass over into Holland for a short time, his Ma-

jesty nominated Marlborough one of the nine lords-justices to govern during his absence.

The appointment of Bishop Burnet was far from being agreeable to the tories; and it must be conceded that, as members of a party, they had some reason for their dissatisfaction; but Burnet being a man of learning, frankness, and integrity, the governor and preceptor agreed well in the fulfilment of their respective duties; and though their political principles were, in many respects, widely different, their connexion became the foundation of a friendship, which terminated only with death.

The object of their mutual care, however, did not live long to engage their time and attention. His royal highness was seized with an illness, at a time in which Marlborough and his lady were at Althorpe; and his lordship arrived at Windsor, therefore, only in time to receive his dying breath. His royal highness died on the 29th of July, 1700, aged eleven years and five days; and though so young, was greatly lamented by the nobility, and by the public at large. Marlborough immediately communicated the distressing event by letter to the king, then at Loo; and received the following short but affecting letter in reply:—

“ I do not think it necessary to employ many words in expressing my surprise and grief at the death of the Duke of Gloucester. It is so great a loss to me, as well as to all England, that it pierces my heart with affliction.”

The years 1698 and 1700 were marked in the life of Marlborough by the marriages of two of his daughters,—his family consisting of one son and four daughters. Lady Henrietta was married to Francis, only son of Lord Godolphin; and Lady Anne to Lord Spencer, the only son of Lord and Lady Sunder-

land. With each of these ladies the Princess Anne gave, as marriage portions, five thousand pounds; and Marlborough five thousand pounds more. The Princess Anne indeed was so warmly interested in these matches, that she offered, in the most delicate manner, to endow the ladies with ten thousand pounds each; but the countess could be persuaded to accept only half. These marriages at first added greatly to the happiness of all parties; but not so afterwards. Lord Godolphin and Lord Sunderland had long been Marlborough's intimate friends; and an attachment of the most romantic kind had, for some years, subsisted between Lady Marlborough and Lady Sunderland. Lord Spencer, however, did not agree with his father-in-law in politics, and this occasioned some objection in the first instance, and became a source of no small uneasiness afterwards.

Marlborough, on his restoration to favour, had a difficult part to perform: for a series of questions arose in Parliament, which left him no alternative but to offend the king, or desert his party. Those subjects related to the dismissal of the Dutch guards; the liquidation of a debt which had been contracted with the Prince of Denmark; the reduction of the army and navy; and the resumption of the forfeited lands, which William had distributed with no penurious hand among his favourites, in Ireland. Debates on all these questions arose in parliament, and to such an extent were they carried, that his majesty dismissed the whigs, and formed a new administration; a new parliament, also, was called; and the tories became ascendant. In all these affairs Marlborough bore a part; and in some instances the conduct he adopted was so offensive to his majesty, that he was regarded by the king

with strong feelings of dislike. Indeed various subjects became so embarrassing, that in a letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury, Marlborough complained that the king's coldness to him was such, that he would have been glad to have his friendly advice; "for," said his lordship, "to have friends and acquaintance unreasonably jealous, and the king at the same time angry, is what I know not how to bear, nor do I know how to behave myself."

The king, nevertheless, consulted him on various occasions. A tory ministry was appointed; a new parliament, as we have before stated, was called; and Harley was chosen speaker, in opposition to Sir Richard Onslow. But the death of the Duke of Gloucester, and the perfidious conduct of the French king, in usurping the Spanish monarchy, had excited so great an alarm throughout the kingdom, that the number of members, friendly to the exiled family, became greatly diminished. We have no space, however, for a detail of what ensued till Marlborough was summoned abroad; we therefore pass on to more important matters.

Upon the death of the king of Spain, and the recession of the French king from the treaty of partition of the Spanish monarchy, Europe became threatened with a new war; and the king, sensible of his own declining state of health, and anxious for the maintenance of that system which it had been the labour of his life to uphold; and knowing that he could confide in the ability of none so competent as the Earl of Marlborough, his majesty was pleased to appoint him general of the foot, and commander of the forces in Holland. He appointed him also ambassador and plenipotentiary for the negotiations then carrying on at the Hague, having for their

object the renewal of the grand alliance among the foreign powers. This was one of the last acts of the king before he departed to the Continent, to organise the most formidable confederacy, which had been yet formed against the power of France.

Marlborough embarked on the 1st of July, 1701, at Margate, and arrived at the Hague two days after; where he took up his residence in the house of Prince Maurice, near the court, which the States, out of peculiar respect to the king and esteem for his lordship, lent him; and there he received the visits of all the foreign ministers.

The affairs to be arranged were manifold. For "he had," as an elegant writer has justly observed, "to reconcile jarring interests; to suspend, if not to allay, inveterate enmities; to moderate extravagant pretensions; and to conciliate impracticable young sovereigns, in whom will and passion were paramount, and obstinate ministers, who had grown old in imbecility and error." A general war being anticipated on the death of Charles II. of Spain, the most important matter as it regards Marlborough, was that of settling the quota of men each state should furnish to the general interest. The Dutch government strongly urged him to fix the proportion for England on his own authority. This, however, he declined in a most decisive manner, though urged to it by the king himself. His language on this subject to Mr. Secretary Hedges and Lord Godolphin was exceedingly eloquent. "I am fully persuaded, that if the king should be prevailed upon to settle this matter by his own authority, we shall never see a quiet day more in England; and consequently not only ruin ourselves, but also undo the liberties of Europe: for if the king and parliament begin with

a dispute, France will give what law she pleases. I am sure I would be rather buried alive than be the fatal instrument of such misfortunes." "It is very plain to me, that the Pensioner continues his opinion, that I ought to do this before the meeting of parliament; but I have been so positive, that he despairs of prevailing upon me. But I am afraid he hopes the king may be able, when he comes to England, to persuade yourself and the cabinet council to it; so that I may have orders sent me, believing that I should then make no difficulty: but I do assure you, that I am so persuaded, that the doing this by his Majesty's authority would prove so fatal to himself and the kingdom, that I should desire to be recalled; for, before God, I will die rather than do so fatal a thing."

The postponement of this matter was the effect of Marlborough's representations; and fortunate was it for Europe that it was so. A convention was signed between the parties, that the Dutch should furnish ten thousand men; the emperor, ninety thousand; and the English, forty thousand: but the arrangement in regard to the English quota was to be subject to the decision of the British parliament. In this matter William had been governed, not by any desire of increasing his power by unconstitutional means, but by an imperfect understanding of the constitution.

Several struggles for power characterised this period; but it is not necessary to dwell upon them. Having reviewed the troops at Breda and in other garrisons, and prepared everything for the king's reception, Marlborough set out from the camp in order to confer with the states-general and foreign ministers at the Hague.

In the midst of all this, James the Second passed

his last ordeal. He died on the 16th of September, after a short illness. On receiving this intelligence, the French king, (Louis XIV.) instantly acknowledged the young pretender as king of England, Scotland, and Ireland :—a proceeding so resented by William, that he immediately despatched a command to his ambassador at Paris (Lord Manchester) to leave France without delay. On receiving this command, Lord Manchester wrote to M. de Torcy in the following manner : “ The king, my master, being informed, that his most Christian Majesty has acknowledged another king of Great Britain, thinks that his glory and honour permit him no more to have an ambassador near the king, your master. He has therefore sent me orders to depart immediately ; whereof I do myself the honour to acquaint you by this letter.” Louis was then at Fontainebleau ; whence having directed an evasive answer to be sent, Lord Manchester immediately left France ; and a command was issued to the French minister in London to leave England without delay.

The unjustifiable conduct of the French king excited, as may well be supposed, the greatest resentment through the whole of Britain. Addresses poured in from all quarters, expressing the warmest attachment to the established government, as well as indignation at the ambition and perfidy of the French court. These addresses determined William in the resolution of recalling the whigs immediately to office. He left Holland, therefore, without imparting any hint of his intention to Marlborough, and arrived in London before the least notice had transpired of his voyage.

Marlborough soon followed. For, having closed the negotiations with which he had been charged, he

received permission to return. That permission, however, was—to his unbounded astonishment—accompanied by the receipt of a letter from Secretary Hedges, announcing the dissolution of parliament and the retirement of his friend Godolphin!

On the receipt of this intelligence, Marlborough set out for England without an hour's delay. On arriving in London, to his great mortification he discovered that his party was held in general detestation for the mortifications they had heaped upon the king, and the dishonour which they had brought upon the nation, by their violence in domestic policy and their timidity in foreign transactions. "Nor were the circumstances of their disgrace," says Mr. Coxe, "calculated to alleviate his chagrin at the failure of his endeavours to rouse them to a more efficient discharge of their public duty."

A proclamation for a new parliament was issued. It assembled on the last day of the year; and his Majesty, after the ceremony of swearing in the members, made the last speech he ever made from the throne. In this he signified his gratitude to both houses, as well as the whole nation, for the ardent manner in which they had resented the affront put upon him by the French king. This was answered by addresses from the two houses, containing a prayer, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to take care, that it be an article in the several treaties of alliance with his majesty and other potentates, that no peace should be made with France, until the king and the kingdom received reparation for the indignity, offered by the French king, in owning and declaring the pretended Prince of Wales to be king of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The kingdom was thoroughly roused, and all

necessary preparations made for the war about to take place, when his majesty accidentally fell from his horse, as he was hunting at Hampton Court. This fall accelerated his death. His health had been long declining. Anxiety of mind had brought on many infirmities, and he had frequently assured his friends that his life would be of no long duration. His majesty, however, struggled with his infirmities several weeks, and lived to the completion of the great edifice of civil and religious liberty. The bill of adjuration was presented for his signature. His hand, however, was not sufficiently strong to enable him to perform the office; he, therefore, rendered the instrument legal by a stamp, and in a few hours resigned his life to Him that gave it.

Though the king had left Holland without making any communication of his intention of so doing to Marlborough, his majesty was so well satisfied with the zeal Marlborough had manifested in concluding the treaties of alliance, and otherwise promoting the grand design he meditated; and so assured, also, of his fidelity and commanding genius, that, anxious to establish the Protestant succession, as well as to preserve civil and religious liberty, the last advice he gave to his successor (the Princess Anne) was, that she should regard Marlborough as the most competent and proper person of all her subjects to lead her armies and direct her councils. And here we cannot do better than adopt the sentiments of Marlborough's best and most competent biographer, Mr. Coxe.

“Whatever may have been the errors and faults of Lord Marlborough in the preceding period of doubt and infidelity; whatever intercourse he had hitherto maintained with his former sovereign and benefactor, or which he

afterwards held with the Stuart family ; he religiously fulfilled the great trust reposed in him by his sovereign and his country ; and more than any individual contributed to consolidate the work of the revolution, to baffle the hopes and machinations of the Stuarts and their adherents, and to smite that great colossus of power, which threatened the destruction of civil and religious liberty, and on which they placed their hopes of a counter-revolution."

Happy was it for Europe, as well as for England, that Marlborough possessed so great an influence as he then possessed over the new sovereign ; for the exigencies of the times fully demanded the public exercise of the best and most fortunate genius. The power of France exceeded all precedent in modern history ; and it would have been easy, with such a combination of resources as its king possessed, to have effected the subjugation of Europe, had not this country stood, as it were, in the breach, and won the palm of victory, not only for that period, but for subsequent ones.

On the death of William, the crown, in conformity with the order of succession established on the abdication of James, her father, devolved upon the Princess Anne. To this accession the princess had now little scruple. For her father was dead : his son she looked upon as illegitimate. " When I saw," said the Countess of Marlborough, " that the queen had such a partiality for those that I knew to be Jacobites, I asked her one day whether she had a mind to give up her crown ; for, if it had been her conscience not to wear it, I do solemnly protest I would not have disturbed her, or struggled as I did. But she told me, that she was not sure the Prince of Wales was her brother ; and that it was not prac-

licable for him to come here, without ruin to the religion and the country."

The first exercise of the queen's power was to nominate Prince George of Denmark (her husband) generalissimo and lord high admiral; and, in a few days after, to make Marlborough captain general, master of the ordnance, and a knight of the garter. The countess also received tokens of the royal favour, being made groom of the stole, mistress of the robes, and keeper of the privy purse. She was also—in consequence of her having, one day, as she accompanied the queen through Windsor Park, expressed admiration of the situation of the great lodge—appointed to the rangership; and her two daughters were nominated ladies of the bed-chamber.

As to the administration, — it was now formed upon the principles of Marlborough and his friend Godolphin. They were both tories; but, more than any men of their time, free from the narrowness and asperity of party spirit. Though the ministry was thus formed, the queen arranged it without their interference. She consulted her own inclinations and antipathies, and composed it mostly of tories; men so intolerant, that, not content with being appointed to all the higher offices of the state, they would not have permitted a single magistrate of the whig side to have been nominated, in any part of the kingdom, had not Marlborough and his coadjutor, Godolphin, interposed and restrained them.

The queen, in fact, was deeply imbued with tory prejudices; and of so great a timidity, that nothing but the dangers, which encompassed her on all sides, could have influenced her to adopt the same hostility against France, which had marked the reign of her

predecessor. Her uncle, Lord Rochester, son of the celebrated historian, the Earl of Clarendon, was at the head of the tories; and he, having inherited neither the moderation, wisdom, nor manly decided character of his father—when the question, now at issue, of peace or war was to be determined, and it was time for England to come forward in fulfilment of the alliances which the late king had concluded—he and the more violent of his party temporised and drew back, and so far dishonoured themselves and their cause, as to propose the expedient of engaging merely in the character of auxiliaries.

In the mean time, the death of the king had spread the utmost consternation on the Continent, and most especially in Holland. This suspense and alarm, however, were speedily dissipated. The advice of Marlborough and Godolphin prevailed; and a letter was despatched to the states-general, with an assurance that her majesty had determined on supporting the policy and alliances of the late king. This letter was everywhere received with transports of joy; and the Dutch immediately passed a resolution, asserting, in the strongest manner, that they would sacrifice not only all their treasure, but all their blood, to support their government, liberty, and religion.

To give additional weight to the declaration of the queen, Marlborough was deputed to Holland, as ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary. He arrived at the Hague on the 28th of March, 1702, and arranged with the Dutch republic and the imperial minister, that war should be declared at London, the Hague, and Vienna, on the same day. A plan of operations, also, was arranged under his direction; and the campaign was

even opened during his stay, by the siege of a strong fortress in the electorate of Cologne, which had been occupied by a French garrison the preceding year. Having thus fulfilled his commission, he returned to England.

When in Holland, he had proposed to the states that the command of the army, which had been coveted by the King of Prussia, the Elector of Hanover (afterwards our George I.), the Duke of Zell, and the Archduke Charles, should be conferred upon the Prince of Denmark. This proposition, however, the Dutch would not listen to ; and Marlborough was compelled to leave that important matter in suspense ; hoping that in his absence some expedient might be found to obviate the difficulty. On his return, Parliament sanctioned the conventions which he had made ; and, on the 4th of May, 1702, hostilities were declared against France and Spain.

We must now say a few words in regard to the countess. She had long been inclined to favour the whigs ; and from the marriage of her daughter with Lord Spencer, who was a staunch adherent to that party, that inclination had increased, till it became a strong and decided preference. During the late king's life, all difference between the queen and herself upon political subjects had been suspended by their mutual dislike to the king ; but upon the queen's accession, a disunion immediately ensued, which, though only perceptible at first in the point of difference, insensibly extended, till, at last, it leavened the feelings of both, and converted their friendship into mutual ill-will. A number of bickerings ensued ; and in these Marlborough and Godolphin were often involved, either because they supported the opinions of their royal mistress, or

endeavoured to restrain the antipathies and partialities of the countess.

Having stated thus much, we return to more important matters: but it was requisite to advert to these circumstances, because it is essential to the understanding of many passages of Marlborough's subsequent life, to note the commencement of a dispute, which afterwards rose to so great a height, and operated throughout with so fatal an effect to Marlborough's interest.

Having been appointed to the command on the Continent, Marlborough became impatient to depart. At length he embarked at Margate, on the 15th of May: and here it may not be unessential to let him, in his own words, show the state of his feelings after he had quitted port. What would we give to have the opportunity of reading a letter from Cæsar to Calphurnia, on taking his departure for the command in Gaul! "It is impossible," wrote Marlborough to the countess, "to express with what a heavy heart I parted with you when I was at the water's side. I could have given my life to have come back, though I knew my own weakness so much that I durst not; for I knew I should expose myself to the company. I did for a great while, with a perspective-glass, look upon the cliffs, in hopes I might have one sight of you. We are now out of sight of Margate, and I have neither soul nor spirits; but I do at this minute suffer so much, that nothing but being with you can recompense it. If you will be sensible of what I now feel, you will endeavour to be easy to me, and then I shall be most happy; for it is you only that can give me true content. I pray God to make you and yours happy; and if I could contribute anything to

it with the utmost hazard of my life, I should be glad to do it." In another letter, written after his arrival at the Hague, there is the following beautiful and affecting passage :—" I do assure you, upon my soul, I had much rather the whole world should go wrong, than you should be uneasy ; for the quiet of my life depends only upon your kindness, and I beg you to believe that you are dearer to me than all things in this world. My temper may make you and myself sometimes uneasy ; but when I am alone, and I find you kind, if you knew the true quiet I have in mind, you would then be convinced of my being entirely yours, and that it is in no other power in this world to make me happy but yourself."

On Marlborough's arrival at the Hague, he again exercised his influence to get the queen's consort nominated to the chief command. The Dutch, however, could not be induced to consent : and fortunate it was for all Europe that it was so. The post was also sought, as we have already stated, by the archduke Charles, for whom Spain, to which he laid claim, was a better scene of action ; by the King of Prussia ; by the Duke of Zell ; by the Elector of Hanover, afterwards our George the First. There were objections to all these. The Prince of Nassau-Saarbruck and the Earl of Athlone also set up pretensions : the first, a prince of the empire ; the last, a general of great experience and reputation ; and, as a native of Holland, warmly supported by such of his countrymen as were averse to the extensive system of operations proposed by Marlborough, and by those who were jealous of foreign influence. All obstacles, however, were after a time removed by the patriotic exertions of Heinsius, the pensionary, and

the party attached to England; and the two last-named generals having withdrawn their pretensions and thrown their influence into the scale, Marlborough was appointed generalissimo, with a salary of 10,000*l.* a year.

The Prince of Denmark was greatly chagrined at the exclusion of himself and the election of Marlborough, whom he suspected, very unjustly, of not having supported his pretensions with sufficient perseverance and zeal; in consequence of which, Marlborough had no small difficulty in allaying his suspicions, and giving ease to his disappointed ambition. Nor was this the only difficulty with which he had to contend. Instead of the advantages which King William had derived from his exalted rank and authority as stadtholder, Marlborough, as a subject, felt himself exposed to rivalry, and reduced to depend on his own personal interest.

It is here necessary to state the manner, in which the confederate forces were distributed. The principal army of the allies was under the command of Athlone, in the vicinity of Cleves, for the purpose of covering that part of the frontier between the Rhine and the Meuse, as well as to favour the Prince of Saarbruck, who was besieging Kayerswerth. Cohorn had ten thousand men near the mouth of the Scheldt, to secure that quarter, and threaten the district of Bruges. On the enemy's part, the Marquis de Bedmar, who commanded in the name of Philip, and the Count de la Motte, covered the side against Cohorn. Marshal Tallard was detached from the Upper Rhine to interrupt the siege of Kayerswerth; but the most numerous army was—that commanded by the Duke of Burgundy, with Marshal Boufflers to assist him. And this was

assembled on the Meuse, occupying fortresses in the bishopric of Liege, which were of signal advantage to him.

It is now necessary to state a few more of the circumstances which contributed to render Marlborough's position exceedingly difficult. This has been done so ably by Mr. Coxe, that our duty is to copy his account. "His means of directing or influencing the factions in the Dutch republic depended chiefly on the credit of Heinsius and the other partisans of the war, who themselves shrank from responsibility. At the army, he was subjected to the control of the field-deputies, who, though vested with great powers, were yet ignorant of military affairs; and consequently were either led by the opinions of their own generals, or wasted the most decisive moments in fruitless deliberation, and in soliciting instructions from the Hague." These were far from being the only evils. "Among the generals he found also more rivals than coadjutors. By them he was often thwarted, from personal jealousy or prejudice; and at the time when vigour and promptitude were necessary, he found them as timid and indecisive as the deputies. From Athlone, in particular, he experienced constant opposition, though cloaked with the affectation of deference. Indeed," continues Mr. Coxe, "it would have been difficult to unite two commanders more discordant in character: Marlborough, active, enterprising, and decisive; Athlone, naturally cold and circumspect, and rendered still more unaccommodating and circumspect by the effects of age and jealousy." In fact, not more than half of Marlborough was ever engaged against the enemy. It has been well observed, that the adage in respect to there being safety

in a multitude of counsellors, is not often applicable to military affairs ; since in them everything depends on unity of opinion, great decision, and instant action.

All things having been regulated with the deputies of the states, Marlborough repaired to Nimeguen, where he gave orders to draw the army together, amounting to about sixty thousand men, sixty-two pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and four-and-twenty pontoons. Here a delay of fourteen days occurred in useless discussions ; and, to add to the vexation and embarrassments of the general, points of punctilio arose concerning the Prussian and Hanoverian allies. At length it was resolved to pass the Meuse and march to the siege of Rheinberg ; the object of crossing the river being, as the general wrote to Lord Godolphin, to alarm the French, and to prevent the army from eating up that part of the country, which ought to be in subsistence during the siege. The plan, however, was not that which Marlborough would have adopted ; because he knew that if the enemy chanced to get good intelligence, they might act so as to make him adopt new measures. " If the fear of Nimeguen and the Rhine," said he in the letter above alluded to, " had not hindered us from marching into Brabant, they must then have had the disadvantage of governing themselves by our motions, whereas we are now obliged to mind them."

While engaged in this service, Marlborough was not so entirely occupied but that he could steal time to write home. " We have now very hot weather," said he in a letter to the countess, " which I hope will ripen the fruit at St. Albans. When you are there, pray think how happy I should be walking alone with you. No ambition can make me amends for being from you. If it were not impertinent, I

should desire you in every letter to give my humble duty to the queen; for I do serve her with all my heart and soul. I am on horseback, or answering letters, all day long; for, besides the business of the army, I have letters from the Hague, and all places where her majesty has any ministers. So that if it were not for my zeal for her service, I should certainly desert; for you know of all things I do not love writing."

At length he was allowed to exercise his own plan and act upon his own judgment; and, pointing to the enemy's camp, then in sight, he is said to have exclaimed to the Dutch deputies, who were accompanying him in a reconnoitring party, "I hope soon to deliver you from these troublesome neighbours." The event justified this confidence; for, no sooner did the enemy hear that he had crossed the Meuse, than they suddenly decamped the same evening, traversed the river in several columns at Venloo and Ruremond, and hastened by forced marches, in the direction of Peer and Bray, two small towns in the bishopric of Liege.

Marlborough was now assured, that he should not only draw the enemy entirely from the Meuse, but be able to besiege Venloo, and to subsist in the adversary's territory during the remainder of the campaign. Having advanced to St. Hubert's Lill, he had scarcely established his head-quarters there when a report reached him, that the enemy was again in motion. He instantly mounted his horse and spent twelve hours in reconnoitring the ground, and obtaining intelligence of their march. Two days after, he was resolved on attacking the enemy; and with this view the whole army was commanded to be in readiness early the next morning. The general

hoped the action would be decisive. From this fate, however, the enemy was spared; for the Dutch deputies, on learning the design of the general, fearful of putting things to such a hazard, positively refused their assent. That Marlborough was right in the design, however, is amply attested by Berwick, who, in his *Memoirs*, fully allows, that, had he attacked the French in the position in which they then stood, their defeat had been inevitable. For, as it afterwards appeared, the French army had not above half got to their camp, greatly fatigued by the march of two days and two nights; and in a state, too, of great consternation. A second time, also, he was prevented from attacking them and obtaining an easy victory, by the tardiness of the allied troops in executing his orders. This he complained of in a letter to Godolphin. "I have but too much reason to complain, that the ten thousand men upon our right did not march so soon as I sent the orders; which, if they had, I believe we should have had a very easy victory, for their whole left was in disorder. However, I have thought it much for her majesty's service to take no notice of it, as you see by my letter to the States. * * I am in so ill humour that I will not trouble you, nor dare I trust myself to write more; but believe this truth, that I honour and love you, my lady Marlborough, and would die for the queen."

The blame of this escape of the French was, nevertheless, laid upon Marlborough; at least by the faction opposed to him in England. They had even the hardihood to accuse him of having permitted the enemy to escape, in order that the war might be prolonged for his personal interest. These aspersions he bore with great patience, and, from delicacy to-

wards the states-general, restrained from any public vindication of his conduct. The consequence of this forbearance, however, was, that the report gained ground ; and it was propagated with such malignant activity, that he never entirely could relieve himself from the imputation. The officers and soldiers of his army, however, loudly exclaimed against those, by whom his purposes and their eager hopes had been frustrated ; and one good resulted from it :—the troops were inspired with additional confidence in their commander, and burned with impatience to retrieve the glorious opportunities that had been so wantonly lost.

In allusion to this charge, the author of a narrative of the life and actions of Marlborough, has several pertinent and sagacious observations :—“ When the officers, coming from Flanders after the campaign, appear in the newest fashions, which they bring over with them, with a good air and genteel mien, which is almost common to them ; the people, who never saw the hardships they undergo, think them only designed for pleasure and ease, and their profession to be desired above everything in the world besides. They often hear of fights and sieges, and of a great many men killed in a few hours ; but because they see not the actions, the talk leaves but a small and transient impression. But if they did but see them in a rainy season, when the whole country about them is trod into a chaos, and in such intolerable marches, men and horses dying and dead together, and the best of them glad of a bundle of straw to lay down their wet and weary limbs : if they did but see a siege, besides the daily danger and expectation of death, which is common to all, from the general to the sentinel ; the watches, the labours, the

cares, which attend the greatest ; the ugly sights, the stinks of mortality, the grass all withered and black with the smoke of powder, the horrid noises all night and all day, and spoil and destruction on every side ; I am sure they would be persuaded, that a state of war, to those who are engaged in it, must needs be a state of labour and misery ; and that a great general, I mean such a one as the Duke of Marlborough, weak in his constitution, and well stricken in years, would not undergo those eating cares which must be continually at his heart ; the toils and hardships which he must endure, if he has the least spark of humane consideration ; I say he would not engage in such a life, if not for the sake of his queen, and country, and his honour."

Soon after this, the Duke of Burgundy, seeing that no advantage could be won in the campaign, thought it unbecoming his dignity to remain in the French army ; he, therefore, retired from his first campaign rather ingloriously ; leaving the whole to Marshal Boufflers, in regard to whom Lediard remarks, that " as long as he only commanded a flying camp, to surprise a post, bombard a city, or to perform any other expedition of that nature, he justly acquired a reputation ; but the office of a general, which requires great judgment as well as valour, was too much for him ; and he soon sank under the weight of it."

It is not expedient, from the limit to which our pages are prescribed, to enter too particularly into military minutiae. It is here, therefore, sufficient to state, that Venloo, Stevenswaert, and Ruremond, were taken, notwithstanding the indecision and want of activity on the part of the Dutch ; and that the campaign was concluded by the capture of Liege.

We must, however, not neglect to record Mr. Cardonnell's testimony, in regard to the general's conduct, contained in a letter to Secretary Harley. All the good fortune that had attended the allies he ascribes to Marlborough. "If his excellency," says he, "had not been very firm in his resolutions, not only against the Dutch generals, but even the States themselves, the alarm in Flanders would have carried a good part of our troops that way, and entirely defeated our designs this campaign. This the Dutch begin to own freely, with a good deal of applause to his excellency." Nor must we neglect to state, that, after the taking of Liege, a mistake occurred, by which several of the victors lost their lives. Having got possession of the town, several persons, to testify their joy, let off ten pieces of small-arms, in consequence of which, those who were in the batteries fancying that the enemy had rallied, poured in a whole shower of bombs at random, which, falling among friends and foes, did considerable damage before the mistake was discovered.

A large booty was found in the citadel. Besides thirty-six pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of arms and ammunition, the troops discovered 300,000 florins, in gold and silver; a valuable parcel of plate; and 1,200,000 florins, in notes upon substantial merchants in the town. One grenadier found a thousand louis-d'or in a bag.

The general success attending the campaign was highly agreeable to the Dutch, who congratulated the general in a letter of some price. Nor ought we to neglect alluding to the conduct of the Earl of Athlone. He had been in opposition to Marlborough in everything; but, at the close of the campaign, he did not hesitate to confess, that the whole success of

it had been owing to the British general's wisdom and judgment.

A curious adventure now befell the hero of our history. On the evening on which the army separated, thinking it the easiest, quickest, and even safest way, Marlborough embarked, with the Dutch deputies, in a boat, with a view of descending the Meuse for the Hague. He had a detachment of twenty-five soldiers, commanded by a lieutenant, in the boat with him. He was joined the following day by Cohorn, at Ruremond, in a larger boat with sixty men; and an additional escort of fifty troopers attended them along the banks of the river. Having dined at this place with the Prince of Holstein Beck, governor of the town, they continued their way down the Meuse. But, in the night, the troopers having lost their way, the larger boat went on without attending to its companion; and Marlborough was left with only his slender guard of twenty-five men. The French had the town of Guelders still in their hands. It so happened that a party of five-and-thirty men from that town was lurking among the reeds and sedge of the river, about nine miles below Venloo, waiting for an adventure. Most of the company on board Marlborough's boat were asleep; when, between eleven and twelve o'clock, those who were awake felt the tow-rope seized, and soon after heard a discharge of arms; several soldiers were wounded, but Marlborough fortunately remained unhurt. The assailants then rushed on board, and seized the whole party before they could get in any order to make an opposition. Thus had a small number of men the good fortune to take, in one moment, that general prisoner, whom the whole French army had scarcely the courage to face during a whole summer.

The Dutch deputies had taken care to furnish themselves with French passes. Marlborough, however, thought it beneath him to solicit such a safeguard; and he was saved only by the presence of mind of an attendant, named Gell, and whom he afterwards rewarded with an annuity of 50*l.*, who, having in his pocket a pass which had been granted to Marlborough's brother, General Churchill, when obliged to quit the army from ill-health, slipped it into his hand unperceived by any one. This passport bore date some time before; and the least scrutiny would have detected the deception, had not the general presented it with an undismayed countenance. The calm indifference with which he offered the passport prevented the men almost from looking at it, and the night being rather dark, the adventurers contented themselves with searching the trunks and baggage, emptying them of what plate and things of value they contained; having done which, they permitted Marlborough and his fellow-voyagers to proceed.

The alarm was soon given that Marlborough was taken; and the governor of Venloo, presuming that he had been carried prisoner to Guelders, marched immediately to that place with his whole garrison, in order to invest it. The news arriving, also, at the Hague in the same imperfect manner, the states-general, who were there assembled, almost overwhelmed with consternation, passed a vote by acclamation, enjoining all their troops to march without delay for the purpose of rescuing a commander, whose importance to the common cause was now instantaneously and instinctively acknowledged. Before these orders, however, could be despatched, Marlborough arrived at the Hague. The transport of joy, which burst forth on his appearance, may be

easier imagined than described. The sedate and deliberative character of the Dutch was lost in the enthusiasm of exultation; and it was with great difficulty their now valued general could get through the crowd to the hotel appointed for his reception, accompanied by a cavalcade "less pompous indeed," says Mr. Coxe, "but far more gratifying than any which perhaps had ever graced the triumphal procession of a Roman general to the capitol." Marlborough's friend, Heinsius the pensionary, was deputed to compliment him on his providential escape. "Your captivity," said he, "was on the point of causing the slavery of these states, and of restoring to France the power of extending her uncontrollable dominion over all Europe. No hope was left, if she retained in bondage the man whom we revere as the instrument of Providence to secure the independence of the greater part of the Christian world."

To this flattering address, Marlborough returned an answer, greatly to be admired for its modesty and address: "He should always take pride in being serviceable to the common cause, and to their high mightinesses in particular. But he thought that that, which had been applied to him belonged, in justice, to the queen, his mistress; for it was the queen who might, by God's assistance, be rightly styled the instrument of the Divine will. For his own part, it was sufficient glory for him to be her majesty's agent." In his letter to Lord Godolphin, he made use of the following expressions: "My room is full at this time, I being more welcome by an accident I had of being taken by a French party. Till they saw me, they thought me a prisoner in France; so that I was not ashore one minute, before

I had great crowds of the common people, some endeavouring to shake me by the hands, and all crying out welcome. But that, which moved me most, was to see a great many of both sexes cry for joy. I pray God bless the queen and her undertakings; for the liberty of Christendom depends upon it."

Soon after this Marlborough returned to England. Before his arrival, however, the queen had summoned a new Parliament, in which Harley was chosen speaker, without opposition; and the decisions of contested elections amply and unequivocally manifested, that the tories had gained the ascendancy. Three days after this meeting, the House of Lords waited on the queen with an address, in which they congratulated her majesty on the glorious success with which it had pleased God to bless the arms of England and the allies, "under the command of the illustrious general, the Earl of Marlborough." The address from the House of Commons had an extraordinary peculiarity; for, in allusion to Marlborough's success—more fortunate than the operations of the late king (William)—it was observed, that the conduct of the Earl of Marlborough had "signally *retrieved* the ancient honour of the nation." This invidious term the whigs laboured hard to change; but, after a warm debate, the tories gained their object by a majority of a hundred votes.

The queen was so satisfied with the success of her arms, that a day of thanksgiving was appointed; and her majesty went in great state to St. Paul's Cathedral, attended by both Houses of Parliament. The House of Commons voted Marlborough their thanks; and the queen, to signalise the sense she entertained of the earl's services, signified her inten-

tion to a committee of council, that she intended to raise him to the dignity of a dukedom.

It is very remarkable that when the queen signified her desire to confer this enviable distinction, the countess, so far from hailing such an accession of honour, was entirely averse to it. The queen had written to inform her what she intended to do. The answer of the countess has not been preserved; but we may understand her reasons of objection from what she wrote, some time after, to one of her most particular friends. "I believe," said she, "there are very few in the world, that did not think me very much pleased with the increase of honour the queen gave Lord Marlborough, when he commanded the army, at her coming to the crown; and perhaps it is so ridiculous, at least what so few people will believe, that I would not mention it but to those I could show the original letters to. If there be any truth in a mortal, it was so uneasy to me, that when I read the letter first upon it, I let it drop out of my hand, and was, for some minutes, like one that had received the news of the death of one of their dearest friends: I was so sorry for anything of that kind, having before all that was of any use."

Her grace's reasons for this certainly unexpected reluctance are stated in another part of the same letter:—"I fear you will think what I have said on this subject is affected; and therefore I must repeat again, that it was more uneasy to me, for a time, than can easily be believed. I do think there is no advantage but in going in at a door; and when a rule is settled, I like as well to follow five hundred as one. And the title of duke in a family, where there are many sons, is often a great burden. Though at that time I had myself but one; yet I might

have had more, and the next generation a great many."

These objections her ladyship did not fail to urge with Marlborough himself; and this we may be the more assured of, since the reply of Marlborough amply testifies it. "As you have let me have your thoughts as to the dukedom, you shall have mine in short, since I shall have the happiness of being with you soon, when I may advise you more at large in this matter. But be assured, I shall have a mind to nothing, but as it may be easy to you. I do agree with you, that we ought not to wish for a higher title, till we have a greater estate."

The queen, however, persisted in her purpose; Lord Godolphin also pressed the matter urgently; and the pensionary Heinsius, whose advice Marlborough solicited, fully determined the acceptance. The pensionary met all the objections Marlborough raised. "In regard to its being a greater advantage," said he, "to your family, at the end of the war, than now, I think otherwise: for if it be done now, it will be a justice to the queen, and do her service with all the princes abroad; more especially in this country (Holland), where, I hope, her majesty will employ you as long as the war lasts. If it be done now, it will have all the effect of having been done as a reward for service. If it be done at the end of the war, it may seem to be the mere effect of favour. In regard to your fear that, if such a title is now conferred, it may have the effect of causing other families to expect the same, and thereby causing many solicitations and trouble to the queen, such can never be the case; since the honour conferred, if conferred now, will evidently be the effect, not of favour, but of service. In respect to your observa-

tion, that you will make a worse figure in England by being a duke than you will without that title, because your estate is not equal to it; be assured that the queen will not grant the title without giving you wherewithal to support it." The pensionary also urged his acceptance, on the ground that the title would make him of more consideration abroad; and that very great advantage might, therefore, accrue to all Europe from it.

These reasons induced Marlborough no longer to hesitate. He was, therefore, created Marquis of Blandford and Duke of Marlborough. The queen also signified her wish to Parliament, that 5000*l.* a-year should be settled upon him and his heirs, out of the revenue arising from the post-office. But that proposal excited so great an opposition, that, at the duke's desire, it was withdrawn. The queen, however, was not to be disappointed; so she settled upon him the 5000*l.* a-year as long as she lived, and would have added 2000*l.* a-year from the privy purse; but this latter sum was respectfully declined. It must not, however, be concealed, that when the duchess some years after fell into disgrace, she had the meanness to claim this grant, and absolutely received it for the nine preceding years!

The first wish of the queen, on coming to the throne, had been to associate her husband, Prince George, with herself in the dignity. This design having been objected to as unconstitutional, her majesty became the more solicitous that a further provision should be made for him, in case he should survive herself. The sum proposed was 100,000*l.* a-year; and this, after a great struggle between the two parties, passed at length into a law; chiefly, as the queen thought, from the influence of the duke

and duchess. Her gratitude, on this occasion, was therefore signified in the following letter :—

“ I am sure the prince’s bill passing, after so much struggle, is wholly owing to the pains you and Mr. Freeman * have taken, and I ought to say a great deal to both of you in return ; but neither words nor actions can ever express the true sense Mr. Morley (the prince) and I have on this and all other occasions ; and therefore I will not say any more on this subject, but that to my last moment your dear unfortunate† faithful Morley will be most passionately and tenderly yours.”

In opposition to this grant, however, the duke was greatly mortified to see among the protests that of his son-in-law, Lord Sunderland, who had recently taken his seat in the House of Peers, on the death of his father. The duchess more particularly was irritated at this want of respect ; and, in her wish to gratify the queen, even forgot her attachment to whig principles. A reconciliation, indeed, was brought about after a time by Lady Sunderland ; but it will be seen, that this was not the last mortification, Marlborough had to encounter from the party-spirit of Lord Sunderland. In the midst of all this, active preparations were making for the next campaign. Ten thousand troops, as an additional force, were voted : upon condition, however, that the states-general should prohibit all commerce and correspondence by letter with France and Spain.

At this time, Marlborough was visited by a very severe domestic calamity. His only remaining son, the Marquis of Blandford, was suddenly seized with the small-pox of the most malignant kind, at Cambridge, and so rapid was the disorder, that

* See page 10.

† This epithet her majesty always used after the death of her son.

the duke and duchess had scarcely arrived beside his sick-bed, when he expired in their arms (Feb. 20, 1703). He was buried in the chapel of King's College, where a monument is dedicated to his memory; and greatly was he lamented by the duke, as well as by the duchess. They wanted not, however, a queen to condole with them, and many other affectionate friends, amongst whom we may particularly note Mrs. Burnet, a fragment from one of whose letters we quote, on account of the beauty of sentiment it contains:—"I can say nothing to lessen your misfortune. It was as great as it could well be; because the person was excellent, and, perhaps, has therefore got an early dismissal from the certain infelicities and almost unavoidable irregularities of a long life. Why should we wish those we love to be long tossed in storms, and in danger of an eternal shipwreck, rather than that they should make a short, secure, and pleasant voyage to an everlasting state of joy and satisfaction, where they want us not, and gain an advantage, though we suffer by a short absence? I know your grace wants not the feeble helps, I am capable to bring; yet permit me to recommend one very reasonable reflection, and to beg you to recall it often, which is the many, very many, blessings you have still remaining. To be one of the most fortunate persons in the world is a subject of great thankfulness to God, though you were once possessed of a greater degree of happiness. I am persuaded, that you know how much submission to God is a duty, as well as the proper use of all afflictions. I have, therefore, only presumed to remind you of your remaining mercies, having generally observed, that persons under present griefs are apt to slight and overlook their present advantages,

which they would have found full satisfaction in, had they never possessed what they lament when withdrawn. May God support you in this great trial, and preserve you from all future causes of sorrow, bless the remains of your gracious family, and give the duke the best success, and a safe and glorious return."

The death of his son suspended, for a time, the duke's voyage to the Continent; but having in some degree subdued his grief, he departed in the beginning of March, and a short time after his arrival we find him writing to her grace in the following terms:—"I received this morning two of your dear letters, which I read with all the pleasure imaginable. They were so very kind, that, if it be possible, you are dearer to me ten thousand times than ever you were. I am so entirely yours, that if I might have all the world given to me, I could not be happy but in your love." The remembrance of his son, however, still haunted him. "I have this day seen a very great procession, and the thoughts how pleased poor Lord Churchill would have been with such a sight, have added very much to my uneasiness. Since it has pleased God to take him, I do wish from my soul I could think less of him."

Some time before this calamitous event, he had united his third daughter, Lady Elizabeth, then in her seventeenth year, with Scroop Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater; and, a year after, his fourth daughter, Lady Mary, in her sixteenth year, was married to Viscount Mounthermer, son of Ralph Earl of Montagu, who was, not long after, through the interest of Marlborough, created Duke of Montagu; and the son obtained the reversion of the place of greater master of the wardrobe, held by his father. Though

there had been some bickerings between the queen and the duchess, her majesty still held her grace and the duke in such esteem and affection, that when their two daughters married, as we have just now related, she gave to each of them a present and dower of ten thousand pounds.

From the death of his son the duke became exceedingly anxious to perpetuate his name and honours ; and every now and then felt it possible, that the duchess might present him with an heir. How great his affection was for his children may, in some measure, be judged of from what he wrote to the duchess, when he had leisure to write to her after the fatigues of a day passed in military operations or conventual debates and duties. “ I think you are very happy in having dear Lady Mary with you. I should esteem myself so, if she could be sometimes for an hour with me ; for the greatest ease, I now have, is sometimes sitting for an hour in my chair alone, and think of the happiness I may yet have of living quietly with you, which is the greatest I propose to myself in this world.” In a letter, dated from Op-heeren, he pursues the same strain even more religiously :—“ You and I have great reason to bless God for all we have ; so that we must not repine at his taking our poor child from us, but bless and praise him for what his goodness leaves us ; and I do beseech him with all my heart and soul, that he would comfort and strengthen both you and me, not only to bear this, but any other correction he may think fit to lay on us. The use, I think, we should make of this correction is, that our chiefest time should be spent in reconciling ourselves to him, and having in our minds always, that we may not have long to live in this world. I do not

mean by this, that we should live retired from the world; for I am persuaded that by living in the world, one may do much more good than by being out of it; but at the same time to live so as that one should cheerfully die, when it shall be his pleasure to call us."

All military operations had been suspended during the winter. Rheinberg had been reduced, and Guelder blockaded. The capture of this place would clear Spanish Guelderland from the enemy; but the French had concerted their plans with a decision, which Marlborough vainly endeavoured to infuse into the allies. Villeroy, who commanded in Flanders, was to open the campaign early in the spring, by reducing the places on the Meuse, and again threatening the Dutch frontiers. While the attention of the maritime powers was engaged by this aggression, a great and decisive attempt was to be made against the emperor. The united troops of France and Savoy were to penetrate from Italy into Germany through the Tyrol, and another army was to make its way from the Upper Rhine through the Black Forest, meet the Italian force, and form a junction with the Bavarians. These combined forces, collecting between the Iser and the Danube, were to direct their march to Vienna; and, being supported by the Hungarian insurgents, to obliterate, by a single effort, "the glory of the Austrian name." Truly has it been said, that at no previous period had the liberties of Europe been in greater danger.

At the time when the operations on the Upper Rhine announced the development of this vast and perilous design, Marlborough reached the Hague, March 17, 1703. From the contentions of two rivals, which had so greatly annoyed and thwarted

him in the last campaign, he was happily freed ; the Prince of Saarbrück and the Earl of Athlone having died a short time before. Other competitors, however, arose, though of inferior rank and influence. These were Overkirk, Opdam, and Slangenberg, the character of whom may be fully understood by the short sketches that have been given of them. In Overkirk, age had tempered, but not extinguished, the fire of youth ; Opdam was distinguished neither by talents nor activity ; Slangenberg was brave and skilful, but of so captious and overbearing a spirit, that he had remained unemployed during the latter part of the late king's reign. To prevent the effects of rivalry, they were appointed to separate commands ; Slangenberg was to be left on the side of the Scheldt ; Overkirk to act with the main army ; and Opdam to be employed in the siege of Bonn.

Marlborough, in the mean time, had formed an extensive plan for the invasion of French Flanders and Brabant : but in this he was again shackled by the States. They insisted upon besieging Bonn ; in the vain opinion, that the elector of Cologne would capitulate, rather than expose that fine town to destruction. " I wish it may prove so," said the duke, in a letter to Godolphin ; " for otherwise it will cost us a great many men, and a good deal of time, which we might spend more usefully in Brabant, now that a great many of their troops are gone towards Germany." To invest Bonn, therefore, was against his judgment : but when preparations had been made, and the intention of doing so had become so public, that to refrain from it would have been adding loss of reputation to loss of time, the duke gave orders for its being invested :—contrary, however, to the opinion of Cohorn, who now wished the siege to be delayed to the end of the year.

When the governor of Bonn saw the preparations that were making against him by the allies, he sent a letter to the duke, importing that an agreement had been made, the last year, between the electors palatine and of Cologne, that the cities of Dusseldorf and Bonn should not be bombarded, in order to preserve the churches, palaces, and other public buildings; the performance of which he was ordered to request from his grace, and to declare, at the same time, that unless this was complied with, the elector of Bavaria would destroy the city of Nieuburg, belonging to the elector palatine.

This letter the duke communicated to the elector palatine and the associate generals; and, having taken their opinions upon it, returned for answer, that it was not his custom or inclination "to destroy cities or public buildings, out of malice or design, provided the enemy's conduct did not put him upon such a necessity."

The siege was now carried on with great vigour, the fort was taken, and such "an astonishing tempest of artificial fire," as the Gazette states, was poured in upon the besiegers, that, rather than stand another such attack, they surrendered the place. A medal was struck on this occasion, with the head of the queen, and, on the reverse, an inscription, importing that on the 15th of May, 1703, Bonn had been taken from "the wicked," by the arms of the allies.

Bonn being reduced, the duke resumed, with redoubled zeal, the plan he had formed, of transferring the seat of war into the heart of Brabant and West Flanders. With this view he urged an attack upon Antwerp and Ostend: and here it may be right to let him confess the true state of his mind. "If

we meet with no obstruction," said he, in a letter to Lord Godolphin, "in our march to-morrow, I hope to make the French decamp, or retire behind their lines. I think their interest is not to venture a battle; but they having made no detachment, most of our generals think they intend it. I am now by my temper so inclined to quietness, that you will believe me, when I assure you, that no ambition of my own inclines me to wish a battle; but, with the blessing of God, I think it would be of far greater advantage to the common cause, than the taking of twenty towns; so that, as far as I can influence, I shall be far from avoiding it."

The French lines extended from Antwerp to the Mehaigne, a small river, which falls into the Meuse a little above Huy; and they had another series of fortifications, stretching from Antwerp towards Ostend. For the protection of these lines there were two flying camps; one near Bruges, under Count de la Motte; the other near Antwerp, under the Marquis of Bedmar. Marlborough's design was to force the enemy, by a combined operation, either to fight or to retire behind their lines, and get possession of Antwerp and Ostend. But here he was thwarted by the misconduct of the Dutch general.

The motions of the Dutch army made it be believed that there was a design upon Antwerp. Cohorn was making advances in the Dutch Flanders; and Opdam commanded a small army on the other side of the Scheldt; while the duke lay with the body of the army under the lines in Brabant. Such being their relative positions, Boufflers was detained from Villeroy's army with a body double in number to Opdam's, to fall upon him; and he marched with such expedition, that the Dutch were surprised at

Eckeren, a village about four miles north of Antwerp; where they were thrown into such confusion, that Opdam, finding all the avenues occupied, left his troops to their fate; and, after wandering the whole day through remote and solitary paths, reached Breda, (a distance of twenty-three miles,) conveying the disastrous intelligence, that his whole force had been cut off, and that he himself and his companions had escaped only by accident.

When this news arrived at the Hague, the greatest consternation was the result. An extraordinary meeting of the States was convened at midnight, in order to concert measures for securing the frontier. They had not sat above an hour, however, before intelligence arrived, that, after the flight of Opdam, Slangenberg had taken the command; and that, by availing himself of the dykes and natural defences of the country, he had repulsed the enemy, and effected his retreat to Lillo. For this conduct Slangenberg and his army received the thanks of the States; and the French, though repulsed, were rewarded with a *Te Deum*, as if the encounter had been followed by a victory.

Marlborough now resumed, with new zeal, his design of attacking the French lines, and reducing Antwerp. At a conference with Cohorn it was therefore settled, that an attack should be made on the lines, and a hundred pieces of artillery furnished from the neighbouring fortresses. Before we proceed farther, however, it is proper to state what ensued in regard to the Dutch generals. Opdam justified himself upon the ground, that he had made too hasty a judgment in respect to the danger the whole army was in. As to Slangenberg, he basely accused the duke of having designedly exposed the Dutch troops

to defeat, because he was jealous of them ; and this accusation being reported to Marlborough, the States felt obliged to dispense with Slangenberg's services. Thus, as it has been said, this brave officer, who had been laid aside during the last years of King William, for his impracticable temper, lost by his tongue all the advantage he had gained by his sword. His disgrace, however, did not last long ; for a quarrel having ensued between Slangenberg and Cohorn, Cohorn, in a fit of resentment, quitted the army, and the command therefore again devolved upon Slangenberg. So many different interests and opinions, in fact, prevailed at the Hague, that the Pensionary did not hesitate to declare to Marlborough, that he dared not take anything upon himself ; and that he even feared that all things would go on wrong from the want of a government.

We must now say a few words in regard to what was passing in England ; the feuds in the cabinet ; the struggles between the two great parties of the whigs and tories ; and the parts taken by the queen, the duke, and the duchess.

No general was ever more harassed by those, who ought to have been considered friends, than Marlborough. For while his *friends*, the Dutch, harassed him in councils of war, the various political parties annoyed him at home. Indeed, he had become, from various circumstances, the common mark of obloquy of both parties ; and while his measures were arraigned, and even his exploits denied, by that portion of the tories to whom he was opposed, his name became associated with that of Harley in the satires and lampoons issued by the whigs. The queen herself was, in principle, a tory ; she seldom failed, therefore, to assail Godolphin with reproaches

whenever he ventured to recommend, as he often did, on the plea of necessity, the conciliating the whigs: so often was this done, that his situation at length became so irksome, that he signified a wish to resign. He could, he wrote to Marlborough, not only not obtain the support, but not even the indulgence, of either party. The positions, in fact, of both were exceedingly trying; and how deeply the duke felt his share may be seen from a passage in one of his letters to his friend: "I hear so much of the unreasonable animosities of the parties, that I pity you with all my heart. I have very little rest here myself; but I should have less quiet of mind if I were obliged to be in your station."

Such being the state of parties, the duchess, with her ardent and imperious temperament, could not be expected to remain indifferent. She, therefore, renewed her efforts to engage Marlborough in a more cordial union with the whigs. She went even farther: she urged the queen to admit the whigs to power; and insinuated, by showing detached parts of the duke's letters, particularly those which contained allusions to his own wish to retire, as well as Godolphin, that such would soon be inevitably the case. On this the queen wrote her the following affectionate letter:

"The thoughts, that my dear Mrs. Freeman and Mr. Freeman seem to have of retiring, give me no small uneasiness, and therefore I must say something on that subject. It is no wonder at all, that people in your posts should be weary of the world, who are so continually troubled with all the hurry and impertinences of it; but, give me leave to say, you should consider your faithful friends, and poor country, which must be ruined, should you ever put your melancholy thoughts into execution. As for your poor unfortunate, faithful Morley, she could not bear

it; for if ever you should forsake me, I would have nothing more to do with the world, but make another abdication; for what is a crown when the support of it is gone? I never will forsake your dear self, Mr. Freeman, nor Mr. Montgomery *, but always be your faithful and constant friend; and we four must never part till death mows us down with his impartial hand."

This letter the duchess sent to the duke; and his grace, moved by the kind expressions it contained, assured the duchess, desiring her to communicate his resolution to the queen, that he would consent to endure the vexations of public life, as long as her Majesty should be pleased to think his services necessary.

The queen's letter raised the duchess's hopes so high, that she even ventured to hope, that her majesty would not be long before she consented to admit the whigs; she therefore renewed her entreaties to the duke, that he would consent to attach himself to that party. On these hopes, however, her grace soon found that she had little cause to rely. The queen still kept to the opinion, that the whigs held doctrines dangerous to the monarchy as well as to the church; while the duke testified a strong resolution to side strictly with no party, but to preserve the independent principle on which he had for some time acted. His opinion of both, indeed, he stated to the duchess, in a manner sufficiently strong: "I think the two parties are so angry that, to ruin each other, they will make no scruple of venturing the whole."

The misunderstandings and party quarrels in England, being known to the confederation abroad, produced, especially among the Dutch, great jealousy and alarm. After the capture of Sluys, Marlborough

* Lord Godolphin.

again resumed his plan of forcing the French lines. This was supported warmly by the English generals and those commanding the auxiliary troops of Denmark, Lüneburg and Hesse. But the Dutch deputies and generals were unanimous in opinion, that such an enterprise would be of great risk and danger, and that little advantage could be gained even from success. Dwelling, too, with great emphasis on the utility that would arise from the possession of Limburg, the matter was ultimately referred to the States; and they decided, as they had often done before, in favour of their own generals. This being the result, the duke consented to invest Limburg. "I cannot say I am yet well," said he in a letter to the duchess; "for my head aches violently; and I am afraid you will think me light-headed, when I tell you that I go to-morrow to the siege of Limburg in hopes to recover my health. But it is certainly true that I shall have more quiet there than I have here; for I have been these last six days in a perpetual dispute; and there I shall have nobody but such as will willingly obey me. I call God to witness, that the attack of the lines, which I have been pressing them to do, was out of no other thoughts but for their own good."

Limburg was invested on the 10th of September; and the garrison surrendered at discretion on the 27th. Guelder, which had sustained a blockade since the spring, soon followed the example; and with these enterprises the active operations of the year terminated. The campaign, though of less *éclat* than the last, and less brilliant than the duke had expected from the spirit and condition of his army, and the great designs he had formed, was not without lasting advantages; for the territories of Cologne and Liege

being secured, and all Spanish Guelderland reduced, the States were relieved from that dread of invasion, which had long held them in a state of anxiety and suspense. The way was now opened, also, for enterprises more extensive and important.

The duke, however, was not yet able to return to England, as he had hoped. The emperor was in a situation of great danger. The French, having taken Brisca and recovered Landau, had opened themselves a way into the heart of Germany; and the Elector of Bavaria had become enabled to communicate with the armies of France on one side, and with the insurgents in Hungary on the other. The emperor, in that quarter, was scarcely able to maintain more than twenty thousand men; while that of the elector was not less than forty-five thousand. The former even prepared his capital for a siege. On all sides the means of defence were lamentably inadequate; and the French indulged hopes that the next campaign would place them in actual possession of Vienna.

These hopes, however, were frustrated by the disputes between Villars and the Elector of Bavaria; the patriotic resistance of the Tyrolese; and, finally, by the sudden defection of the Duke of Savoy. That prince had embraced the Bourbon cause in the first instance with great sincerity and zeal. But he soon after discovered that, in contributing to the ruin of Austria, he was facilitating his own liability to a servile dependence on France. Though, therefore, he had been bribed by the marriage of his two daughters, the one with the Duke of Burgundy, heir presumptive to the crown of France; and the other with the Duke of Anjou, the successful aspirant to that of Spain; he made several overtures to the court

of Vienna. Many obstacles intervened to prevent these overtures from coming to a successful result in the first instance ; when, fortunately for the allies, the Duke of Savoy's defection was rendered absolute by an impolitic act of severity on the part of France. Having, not only by the activity of their own agents, but by the artful disclosure of the emperor's court, become acquainted with what was going on, the French court determined on terrifying the Duke of Savoy by a sudden and decisive blow. This consisted in Vendome's arresting and disarming five thousand Piedmontese that formed part of his army. When the Duke of Savoy heard of this affront, he threw off the mask, rejected the offer of France to receive the Milanese in exchange for Savoy and Nice, concluded subsidiary treaties with the maritime powers, and acceded at once to the grand alliance.

This event, combined with that of the accession of Portugal to the allied cause, opened new scenes of action ; and this led to a change of system on the part of the allies. The Archduke Charles being proclaimed King of Spain at Vienna, he was formally acknowledged by all the powers of the alliance ; and, on his way to England, where he was to join an armament prepared to realise his pretensions, he arrived at Dusseldorf at the time in which Marlborough was employed in arranging for his troops their winter quarters. On the arrival of the king, the duke hastened to pay him his respects, as well as to convey the queen's congratulations on his accession to his new dignity. This visit was exceedingly agreeable to the king, who did not fail to treat the British general with great regard, and on his departure, took his sword from his side and gave it to him. "I

am not ashamed," said his Majesty, "to own that I am a poor prince, having no other inheritance than my cloak and my sword. My sword may be useful to your grace; and I hope you will not esteem it the less because I have worn it a day. I hoped to present it to you at the head of that gallant army with which you have performed such gallant actions." On this the duke took the sword, and, kissing the hilt, answered with his usual grace and elegance, "It acquires an additional value in my eyes, because your majesty has condescended to wear it; for it will always remind me of your just right to the Spanish crown, and of my obligation to hazard my life and all that is dear to me, in rendering you the greatest prince in Christendom." On arriving at the Hague, whither they journeyed together, and where Marlborough, as well as the king, was received with great consideration, his majesty carried his respect still further; for he presented him with his portrait richly set in diamonds, and accompanied the gift with expressions of great kindness.

Though the Dutch were pleased to show all manner of respect to Marlborough, they nevertheless treated him in some respects with great indifference; for they not only reinstated Opdam in his command, but even seconded Slangenberg in his accusations against him. Parties at home, too, greatly augmented his chagrin. For, independent of other annoyances, they drew two thousand men from his army to act in Portugal; a circumstance likely to give great umbrage to the Dutch. In fact it did so; and Marlborough therefore communicated their dislike to Lord Godolphin: "I cannot but say that the Dutch argue very justly. If the queen can, without their consent, take these men, she may, by the same

reason, recall the rest: and, by the same reasoning, they are at liberty to reduce as many as they please of their army." This, and the circumstance of his friend Godolphin's having become an advocate for defensive operations, confirmed his desire of retiring altogether from the command, in which he found such complicated opposition and disquietude. With this intention he landed in England, Nov. 10, N. S., 1703; and he had no sooner done so, than the discontented portion of the tories revived the bill against occasional conformity: and that, not out of any wish to further the interests of religion, but to sow dissension in the court, and shackle the operations of government. It ought, however, to have been stated, that Marlborough had scarcely time to receive the welcome of his family, when he was dispatched to Portsmouth to compliment the King of Spain, who had arrived there, and to conduct him to Windsor. There the king paid great respect to the duchess, and presented her with a ring of great value from his own finger; and when she presented him with the basin and ewer, his majesty took it from her grace's hand, and held it for the queen.

In regard to the bill against occasional conformity, her Majesty took great interest in its success. The duchess was a whig; it was, therefore, hoped by the party which proposed it, that its revival might create a division of friendship between the queen and the duchess. The duchess, however, limited her opposition to this bill, so far as the queen was concerned, to a few unfavourable expressions: but with the duke, she was so far from sharing his feelings and wishes, that she earnestly importuned him to oppose it in the most open and decided manner

possible. His grace, however, thinking it best to respect the prejudices of the queen, as well as to preserve his own consistency, did not follow the duchess's advice. He let the bill take its own course. It was, therefore, after a long and warm debate, lost by a majority of twelve voices.

We must now return to the Continent. Marlborough, as we have stated, had returned to England with an evident wish to resign the command; but, on consideration, he resolved to sacrifice all personal interests to the public cause. The change occasioned by the accession of Portugal and Savoy had not averted the peril; it had only suspended it. The French king still indulged hopes, that, in a single campaign, he could reduce the emperor to submission, and, by one stroke, break the bonds of that confederacy, which had presumed to set bounds to his dominions and wishes.

There was one decided misfortune on the part of the emperor. He had only one general, on whose genius and devotion he could rely. This was Prince Eugene; and it appears certain, that, had Marlborough acted upon his resolution of retiring, the subversion of public and private liberty had been the inevitable consequence. The fate of Europe, indeed, seemed to depend on one movement of the combined armies; and that the first. Marlborough comprehended the full extent of the danger. He perceived, too, that the only safe means of meeting it was to remove the scene of action to the Danube. With this view he opened a correspondence with Prince Eugene, who had recently been made president of the council of war at Vienna, and with him concerted a plan of operations so bold, and so unlike anything the English had ever been accustomed to, that he did not

esteem it prudent to communicate it to the cabinet ; not even to Lord Godolphin himself. He contented himself with obtaining an augmentation of force, to the amount of ten thousand men ; and these, with what he had before, enlarged his army to fifty thousand. With this comparatively small force he formed the design of trusting the protection of Holland and Flanders to the Dutch army ; and, leaving the numerous fortresses and troops of the enemy to march, with all the forces he could collect, and all the expedition he could use, to that part of the contending scene, where the danger was most pressing and the probability of meeting it with success the most commanding.

Having arranged all things with Prince Eugene, he formed the determination of incurring the whole responsibility himself ; trusting for the acquiescence of the cabinet to events. Having arrived at the Hague, after a tempestuous voyage, he communicated his plan to the pensionary, Heinsius ; and, after some struggle, the States, who thought the plan too bold, gave an assent. He succeeded also in other matters with the other powers ; especially the King of Prussia, who had seized every opportunity to enhance the price of his assistance. "He commended the zeal his majesty had displayed for the common cause," says Mr. Coxe ; "flattered him with the title of deliverer of the empire, obtained an increase of his troops, and adroitly engaged him in a negotiation to detach the Elector of Bavaria." He made a confidential communication, also, relating to a disposition on the Meuse and the Moselle ; a plan, however, having no other object than to conceal and promote his grand design. This was to open a campaign with the British troops and part of the foreign

auxiliaries; while a defensive system was to be adopted by Overkirk, who, with the Dutch and the other auxiliaries, were to maintain a defensive system in the Netherlands. His hopes, nevertheless, still seem to have been not of the most promising kind; for he writes to the duchess—"I hope to be with you as soon as this letter, which makes me write to nobody but my dearest soul, in whom is all the pleasure of my life; for when I am from you, I see I cannot have any quiet. For this campaign I see so very ill a prospect, that I am extremely out of heart. But God's will be done; and I must be for this year very uneasy; for in all the other campaigns I had an opinion of being able to do something for the common cause; but in this I have no other hope, than that some lucky accident may enable me to do good."

Before his plans, however, could be put in action, he had to return to England to communicate part of his arrangements, and to obtain a sanction of them. This having been effected, we shall not interrupt the course of the important affairs we are about to detail, by any allusion to minuter ones; and shall merely state, that he returned to the Continent after a short stay. We cannot, however, abstain from relating that, during this short visit, having been actively instrumental in the promotion of Harley and Bolingbroke, he by that assistance paved the road to his own subsequent mortification and disgrace.

The reader is now requested particularly to remember, that Marlborough, when he stated his plans to the queen and the ministry, did not communicate the whole; but, knowing how much his success depended on secrecy, he merely stated, as he had

done in Holland, that his design was to act on the Moselle.

On returning to the Hague, he had again many difficulties to encounter from the Dutch; insomuch that, in a letter to Godolphin, he says,—“The measures they are willing to take in the campaign are, in my opinion, very wrong. I am sure, if I cannot prevail with them to change, I shall have very little heart to serve.” At length, weary of their selfishness, he declared he would undertake leading the English troops by themselves, and cease to consult so insignificant a government any longer. This declaration had the desired effect. The same timidity, which had led them to refuse, now urged them to consent. They invested him, therefore, with full powers.

Having succeeded in this, he imparted part of his plan to Godolphin; desiring him, at the same time, to make it known to no one but the queen and Prince George. “Since I have no thought in this matter,” said he, “but what is for the queen’s service and the public good, I do no ways doubt but her majesty will approve it; for I am very sensible that I take a great deal upon me. But should I act otherwise, the empire would be undone, and consequently the confederacy. * * If I find, when I get to Philipsberg, the French shall have joined more troops to the Elector of Bavaria, I shall make no difficulty of marching (instantly) to the Danube.”

Having completed all his preparations, Marlborough quitted the Hague, and on the 19th of May, 1704, commenced that celebrated expedition, which has been found to have been pregnant with such awful events. It had not been possible for the enemy to perceive what the intentions for this campaign were. The secret had been confined to Prince Eugeno and

himself till the latest moment ; and the plan was so much beyond the policy of the English cabinet, and its vacillating allies, that the French were as little able to divine it as to discover it. "When they heard," says an elegant writer, "that Marlborough was at Coblenz, they apprehended an attack upon the Moselle ; when he advanced to Mentz, they feared for Alsace ; lastly, they suspected that Landau was to be besieged." The consequence of all this was, that when they became acquainted with his march towards the Danube, they found it too late to take any measures to oppose him on the way.

We must pass over all minor details. On arriving near Mentz, the elector was so struck with the appearance of Marlborough's troops, that, alluding to an entertainment, to which he had invited the officers, he observed to their general—"These gentlemen seem to be all dressed for the ball." And this remark leads us to remember what has been written in respect to the discipline, Marlborough had been so fortunate, as to establish. Colonel Blackader, in his journal, says of Marlborough's troops, that when he first joined them, they were "the very scum and dregs of mankind." We are told, that wherever the French carried their arms, their soldiers lived at free quarters ; and that the Germans followed the example. In regard to the troops of Marlborough, however, it was different. He was strictly careful in sparing the people he was called upon to defend. His men, therefore, were regularly paid, and duly provided with everything necessary for their comfort and well-being.

He was now at Mentz, where he had great satisfaction in learning that the States-General had consented to reinforce his army with twenty squadrons

and eight battalions of Danish auxiliaries. But this satisfaction was, in a great measure, neutralised by the intelligence, he at this time received, that the Margrave of Baden had not only permitted French succours to join the Elector of Bavaria, but that he had, also, by his indolence, neglected a favourable opportunity of cutting them off after the junction ; they having been without bread, and with no other resource than that of surrendering at discretion.

Marlborough, after a short stay, proceeded on his march, and on the 3rd of June arrived at Ladenburg, where he had previously sent orders for three bridges to be built for his passage over the Neckar. From this place he wrote a very affectionate letter to the duchess, who having, sometime before, expressed her wish to accompany him in the campaign, had now repeated the desire. “ I take it extremely kind,” said the duke, “ that you persist in desiring to come to me ; but I am sure, when you consider that three days hence will be a month, that the troops have been in continual march to get hither ; and we shall be a fortnight longer before we shall be able to get to the Danube ; so that you would hardly get to me and back again to Holland before it would be time to return into England. Besides, my dear soul, how could I be at my ease ? For if we should not have good success, I could not put you into any place where you would be safe.”

Having passed the Neckar, Marlborough again moved forward ; and having been joined by several bodies of auxiliaries, he encamped on the 7th of June at Erpingen ; where he received intelligence that the duke of Villeroy, with his army, would soon join that of Tallard above Landau, in order to force the passage of the Rhine. Learning this, he dispatched

Count Wretislaw to Prince Louis of Baden's army; to make him sensible of the great consequence it was to prevent the French from passing that river. In the meantime, crossing the Neckar a second time at Lauffen, he came on the 9th to Mondelsheim, where he had the pleasure of finding that Prince Eugene was on his way to pay him a visit.

Now it was that these two generals met for the first time, and conceived for each other that esteem and confidence which afterwards rendered them partners in the same glory. When the prince beheld Marlborough's troops, he was charmed to see them in such excellent condition, after so long and harassing a march. "Much have I heard," said he, "of English cavalry; and find it to be the best appointed and finest I have ever seen. Money you have in plenty in England. You can easily procure clothes and accoutrements; but nothing can purchase the spirit which I see in the looks of these men. It is an earnest of victory!"

Charmed with this compliment, although Marlborough could not but think it was amply merited, he made to the prince a still more flattering reply:—"My troops are always animated with zeal for the common cause; but they are now inspired with your highness's presence; and this it is that awakens the spirit that excites your highness's admiration."

Three days after this, the two heroes were joined by the Margrave of Baden, who had, at Marlborough's suggestion, despatched nine thousand Prussians and three regiments of cavalry, to secure the passage of the Rhine. On seeing Marlborough, the margrave exclaimed—"I am come to meet the deliverer of the empire!" Then alluding to his having, by his supineness, permitted the French to

join the Elector of Bavaria, he added, "Your grace will not fail to assist me in vindicating my honour, which, I am well aware, has been lowered in public estimation." "I am come," answered Marlborough, in the spirit of an accomplished courtier, "to learn of your highness how to save the empire. None but those who are deficient in judgment can depreciate the merits of the Prince of Baden, who has not only preserved the empire, but extended its boundaries."

It was Marlborough's wish that the margrave should remain with the army on the Rhine; and that Prince Eugene should be his colleague on the Danube; but this the margrave would not consent to: unwilling to be removed from that scene of action, which, he foresaw, would be the most brilliant, he insisted on the privilege of choice, as elder in rank; and it was not without considerable difficulty that he was prevailed upon to share the command, alternate days, with Marlborough himself. Eugene, therefore, to the mortification of Marlborough, as well as of himself, was constrained to submit to this arrangement, and take command upon the Rhine. Marlborough, at the same time, was fully sensible of the evils that might result from an alternate command; especially when the moment for action was to be seized and taken advantage of. His being elected to serve alternately with Prince Louis in the heart of Germany was, however, considered by most persons a very high honour; since, till then, precedence had always been given to the forces of the empire.

At this time Marlborough received intelligence, that the States, alarmed at a report that the Netherlands were about to be attacked, would reclaim a part of the auxiliary force; and that Villeroy and

Tallard, having had a meeting at Landau, had concerted some important enterprise. He was, however, of a nature neither to be daunted nor subdued. He derived consolation, too, from the reflection that he was no longer—as he had been in the last campaign—shackled by the opinions and control of Dutch deputies, and the jealousies of Dutch generals. He, therefore, gave way to hope.

After the necessary resolutions had been projected against the Elector of Bavaria, Prince Eugene went to the army on the Rhine; Prince Louis to his army; and Marlborough to his station. In the meantime, before any blow could be struck, Marlborough received a message from the emperor, through Count Wretislaw, importing that it was his wish to make him a prince of the empire, with a sufficient quantity of land for a principality; with the privilege, attached to it, of sitting in the diet with the sovereign princes of the empire. “You know,” said Marlborough, in communicating this intelligence to the duchess, “that I am not good at compliments. However, I did assure him, that I was very sensible of the honour his master intended me; but in my opinion nothing of this ought to be done till we saw what would be the fate of the war.” To this Wretislaw replied, that what the duke had already done had laid the emperor under greater obligation than he could express; and that if her majesty, the queen, would not allow it to be done, the emperor would appear exceedingly ungrateful to the whole world. The duke communicated this offer to Godolphin, charging him to let no one but the queen and the prince know of it: stating, at the same time, that he should do nothing toward acceptance, till he had received the queen’s commands.

The most critical point was now reached, as well as the most anxious period of his march. On the 24th of June the confederates advancing to Elchingen and Langenau, in the neighbourhood of the Danube, the elector of Bavaria withdrew from the post he had established at Ulm, and retired to a strongly intrenched camp between Lawingen and Dillingen. The next day Marlborough established himself at Langenau; and on the 26th the confederates took post about two leagues from the enemy. Here the duke, in reviewing his troops, was happy to find that the rains, which had been lately very heavy, had by no means affected their gallant air and healthy appearance: and the force now amounted to ninety-six battalions and two hundred and two squadrons, with twenty-four pontons, and forty-eight pieces of cannon. The Danish horse had not yet arrived.

We have no room to state at large the previous dispositions of the Elector of Bavaria. Suffice to say, that he now occupied a strong position between Lawingen and Dillingen, and was waiting for reinforcements from France; in which hope he had detached General D'Arco with 10,000 foot and 2500 horse, to protect Donawerth, a city on the frontiers of Bavaria and Swabia; and situate at the point where the Wernitz flows into the Danube. He had orders, also, to occupy a height, called Schellenberg, on the left bank of the river, near the town, from which the course of the Danube could be seen even to Ingoldstadt. The ascent of this height is gradual. Its summit is not above half a mile wide; and there the Bavarian troops had encamped and fortified themselves with great skill. In occupying this position, the elector hoped to cover his own dominions, and to

hold the confederation in check, till he could receive the reinforcements he expected every day from France.

We must now revert, for a moment, to the condition of Marlborough, in respect to reputation; that ticklish point which is sometimes "gained without merit, and lost without deserving." As a general, he stood at the head of Europe, and as a negociator, perhaps, still higher. But how long he was to maintain this rank was not so certain: and this we may learn from a letter written at that time by a gentleman of Hanover to another occupying a station in one of the German courts. "I am sure there is a greater party forming against my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Marlborough than ever there was against King William's ministers; and what the consequences may be, I cannot tell. Affairs will yet go worse, if their enemies prevail; but much will depend upon my lord's success in Germany; and no king could wish for a more noble opportunity to relieve, not only Germany, but Europe, than this that he is employed upon, or that could be more glorious for himself. If the Elector of Bavaria is reduced, it will stop the mouths of his enemies, and they will not be able to hurt him in England; but if he fails, he will be railed at in Holland, and accused in England for the loss he must suffer in such an expedition; and I much apprehend the consequence everywhere." In another letter, he says, "My Lord Marlborough has joined the troops under Prince Lewis of Baden, not far from Ulm; and the success of this affair will either gain him a great reputation, and very much shelter him from his enemies (which are not few), or be his ruin."

Marlborough's expedition into the heart of Germany was, indeed, a very daring and perilous undertaking.

He knew, however, the propriety of it, and failed, therefore, in nothing to ensure its success. Conscious that if the army arrived before Donawerth on the day of the margrave's authority, it would be wasted in deliberation; he seized his own time of command, marched fourteen miles, though a heavy train of artillery was to be conducted over roads that had been rendered almost impassable by incessant rains, and resolved upon immediately making an attack. He had to force a position of great strength, defended by an ample power. Every thing seemed to depend upon it; and so bold an enterprise might have daunted a spirit less persevering and determined; for some of his officers thought the proper time had not yet arrived. To these he shortly answered, "Either the enemy will escape, or have time to finish their works. Should they be able to effect the last, the delay of every single hour will cost the loss of a thousand men." He was the more impelled, too, by having received intelligence, that Villeroy and Tallard were preparing a powerful reinforcement for the Elector, at Strasburgh.

The Bavarians, on the other hand, knowing the extreme difficulty of the march, Marlborough's troops had encountered, naturally feared no assault on the close of the day on which it had taken place. In this, however, they were woefully disappointed. Marlborough began the attack. The Bavarians made a gallant and skilful resistance; the works, though unfinished, gave them great assistance, and having broken the assailants by a heavy fire, they boldly rushed out and charged them with the bayonet. They were, nevertheless, repulsed; and that chiefly by a battalion of English guards, who maintained their ground singly, while most of their officers were either

killed or wounded. At this moment there was an accidental explosion of some powder, which had been brought among the Bavarians for distribution. This produced a panic. The margrave came up with a reinforcement; and Marlborough entered the works at the head of the first squadrons. The victory became complete. The rout and carnage which ensued may be more easily conceived than described. D'Arco escaped with difficulty, and his son was amongst those who perished in the river. Sixteen pieces of cannon were taken; thirteen colours, with all the tents, baggage, and ammunition. The equipage and plate of the commander, and other rich booty, fell into the hands of the soldiery, and were divided amongst them. The carnage was very great. The fugitives broke down the bridge by their numbers; many perished in the Danube; and only three thousand escaped to rejoin the elector. The victory, however, was not gained without a heavy loss. Fifteen hundred men were killed, four thousand wounded; and no less than eight generals, eleven colonels, and twenty-six captains, fell in the battle. The time of action was, nevertheless, only two hours.

Scarcely was the conflict terminated, before night set in with a heavy rain. This greatly aggravated the sufferings of the wounded; to the care of whom Marlborough paid a strict and careful attendance. He then left a considerable body of troops to maintain possession of the intrenchments, and, withdrawing with the remainder to the camp on the Wernitz, took up his quarters at Obermorgen. The next day he wrote home, giving an account of the victory he had gained; and, in announcing his success to the queen, ascribed it to the especial blessing

of God, and the unparalleled bravery of the troops ; concluding his letter with, “ I shall endeavour to improve the happy beginning to your majesty’s glory and the benefit of your allies.” “ I think myself so happy in my dearest soul’s love,” said he in a letter to the duchess, “ that I know she will be better pleased with two lines, than I am well after the action of yesterday, than with whole volumes on another occasion. * * * Let my children know I am well : and let my lord treasurer know that I think the English have done so well, that the cannon ought to fire for this victory.”

Donawerth was immediately evacuated by the enemy ; and the emperor, who knew that, had it not been for this expedition, so fortunately planned and executed by Marlborough, the elector would then have been in Vienna, dictating his own terms, wrote with his own hand to congratulate the victorious commander. The successful result of this action, however, had the effect of aggravating the misunderstanding which had already taken place between the two commanders ; and many were the persons, not only in the army, but even in Holland afterwards, who were willing to throw all the honour of victory over the margrave, rather than over Marlborough ; but the latter wisely consoled himself for those little efforts of malice by receiving with due humility the applause of the public ; and his fame became so general, that the Duke of Shrewsbury, writing to him from Rome, expressed himself in the following flattering manner. “ I will not suspend your time with politic reflections, which you can make much better than I ; but must tell you, that in this holy, ignorant city, they have an idea of you as of a Tamerlane : and had I a picture of old Colonel Birch

with his whiskers, I could put it off for yours, and change it for one done by Raphael." At Vienna every tongue was lavish in praise of the English troops and the zeal and conduct of their commander. The young king of the Romans, on his way to chapel, "broke through the severe rules of Austrian etiquette," wrote Mr. Stepney to Mr. Secretary Harley, "to testify his exultation;" and the cold, phlegmatic Leopold, in a letter to his grace, told him, with many other flattering expressions, that "the victory, he had gained, would be an eternal trophy to the queen, in Upper Germany; whither," continued his imperial majesty, "the victorious arms of the English nation have never penetrated since the memory of man." Perhaps, however, the reader may be better pleased to have a translation of the real letter placed before him.

"Illustrious, sincerely beloved;—Your deserts towards me, my house, and the common cause, are great and many; and the singular application, care, and diligence which you have expressed, in bringing up and hastening the powerful succours which the most serene and potent Queen of Great Britain, and the States General of the United Netherlands, have sent me to the Danube, are not to be ranked in the last place; but nothing can be more glorious than what you have done, after the conjunction of the army with mine, in the most speedy and vigorous attack, and forcing of the enemy's camp near Donawerth, the second of this month; since my generals themselves, and ministers declare, that the success of that enterprise (which is more acceptable and advantageous to me, in this present time, than almost any thing else that could befall me) is chiefly owing to your counsels, prudence and execution, and the wonderful bravery and constancy of the troops who have fought under your command."

On delivering this letter to the duke, the bearer of it, Count Wretislaw, told his grace that the emperor

had again desired him to express his imperial pleasure, that he should accept the title and dignity of a prince of the empire, as he had before urged. Upon this, the duke prayed the count to represent to the emperor, that he was extremely sensible of his goodness towards him, beyond any thing he could deserve; but that his ambition was entirely bounded in the queen's grace and favour, whose kindness had been already extended towards him, beyond whatever he could have aimed at; and that he must, therefore, refer himself wholly to her majesty's pleasure. Upon this, the emperor wrote to the queen with his own hand; but before the queen's answer could arrive, the duke had acquired a higher title to this honourable distinction. His own sense of it, however, may be learnt from what he wrote to the duchess. "In regard to what is proposed by the emperor, I should be glad the lord treasurer and you should be informed of my intention in this matter; which is, that I have no thought that this should change my name or rank in England. But as none of my nation ever had the like, I think it may, in after times, remain as an honour to the queen and me."

The Elector of Bavaria was no sooner informed that his troops had been defeated at Schellenberg, than he quitted his camp, between Dillingen and Lawingen, and came to the other side of the Danube, over against Donawerth. At the same time he sent orders to his garrison at Donawerth, to set fire to the town, to burn their bridges and magazines, and then to retire. To this end, the garrison placed straw in every house. They were, however, not sufficiently prompt; for the confederates entered the town at the moment of their retreat, without opposition; and not only extinguished the conflagration, but found two

thousand sacks of wheat, great store of oats, and all sorts of provision and ammunition, which the enemy had not time to destroy.

In consequence of this victory, the Gallo-Bavarians commenced a retreat to Augsburgh, where they took post; while the allies passed the Danube and the Lech; and soon after captured Rain, Aicha, and Friedburgh.

By halting and intrenching himself under the cannon of Augsburgh, the elector evidently indicated that he designed sacrificing all other considerations for the sake of the reinforcements he expected from France. The allies, therefore, determined on turning the tide of the war into the heart of his unfortunate country, before his troops had recovered their consternation. They took provision to that effect. There now, therefore, appeared to be a favourable opportunity of endeavouring to detach Bavaria from its fatal alliance with France: for the elector, by the skill of Marlborough, was now cut off from all communication. He had, nevertheless, so fortified himself before Augsburgh, that it seemed impossible to attack or force him out of his shelter.

The elector, by the losses he had sustained, had now become an altered man. Though, in reality, a prince of great spirit and gallantry, he had lost all the gaiety, animation, and affability, which had before so eminently distinguished him, and had given way to such depression, that, when he discoursed on the late lamentable catastrophe, he shed tears. It was therefore hoped that he might be disposed to submit to such terms as might save his country from the horrors of military execution.

Previous to the late engagement, a negociation had been entered into with the elector; but it was broken

off in consequence of the exorbitant demands he had made. These were, to be put in possession of the Duchy of Nieuburgh, and the Marquisate of Bourgue; the Upper Austria; Nieuburgh on the Inn; Fort Kofstein with its dependencies; the four imperial cities of Ulm, Augsburg, Memmingen and Ratisbon; the restoration of the Elector of Cologne, with a subsidy, from England and Holland, of one hundred thousand crowns per month. All the above he desired to possess, with a sovereign power, and the title of king.

These proposals were made June 21. It was now the latter end of July; and, what a reverse! A treaty was entered into; and though the terms were not equal to what would have been before granted, they were far from being insulting to his feelings or dishonourable to his character. These were, the restoration of his dominions; a subsidy of two hundred thousand crowns; and to furnish twelve thousand men for the service of the emperor. During this treaty, however, the elector was merely temporizing. He was far from being in earnest; and only made this show of compliance to gain time; while he sent courier after courier, with the most pressing exhortations, to hasten the advance of the French army under the command of Marshal Tallard. Terms, however, were agreed upon at last; and a day appointed for the elector to meet the Austrian plenipotentiary, and ratify the treaty. Before the time arrived, however, having received an assurance that Tallard was on the way to his assistance with thirty-five thousand men, and those the best troops of France, the elector broke off the treaty at once; and, instead of meeting the Austrian plenipotentiary, he sent his secretary to announce that, since the French

general was approaching to his succour, it was neither in his power, nor was it consistent with his honour, to desert an ally who had made such efforts in his behalf. He must remain firm to his alliance.

The dreadful consequence of this failure on the part of the elector was, that, by the severe laws of war, his country was ordered to be given up to military execution ! When the Bavarians heard of this terrible decree, the whole country was in the utmost consternation ; and several places sent deputies to the duke, offering to pay large contributions to prevent military execution ; but Marlborough, consulting the general good, in preference to his own private advantage, told the deputies, that the forces of England had not come into Bavaria to extort money ; but to bring its prince to some share of reason and moderation.

The command having been issued, the execution began ; and, before the whole terminated, more than three hundred towns, villages, and castles, were burnt ! The matter, however, was far from being agreeable to the duke. " It is so contrary to my nature," said he, in a letter to the duchess, " that nothing but absolute necessity could have obliged me to consent to it ; for these poor people suffer from their master's ambition. There have been no wars in this country for above sixty years ; and these towns and villages are so clean, that you would be pleased with them."

When the elector found what had been the consequences of his conduct, he was greatly affected. He was, nevertheless, not redeemed. He could not believe, he said, in a letter to the duke, that such violences, so opposite to true glory, had been committed by his grace's orders, or by those of Prince

Lewis of Baden; therefore, if they were continued, he should feel impelled by necessity to make reprisals. "It is in the power of the elector," was Marlborough's reply, "to end it at once; and that is by a speedy accommodation." On hearing this, buoyed up by the approach of Tallard, the elector was pleased to reply, "that since they had obliged him to draw the sword, he had thrown away the scabbard."

Tallard was now at no considerable distance; he made a rapid march to Biberbach, where he came in communication with the Bavarian army. Anticipating this, the confederates had resolved to attempt the reducing all the strong places in Bavaria; and Ingoldstadt being the elector's most important city, since a great magazine was there established, they began with it. Prince Lewis took upon himself to command and carry on the siege with the imperial forces, and the duke to cover it, with the auxiliary forces, which, in case of need, might be joined by those under Prince Eugene.

That general, who had made a parallel march with Tallard from the Rhine, with a force of eighteen thousand men, reached the plains of Hochstadt about the same time that Tallard had joined the elector. He soon after repaired to the duke's quarters to concert future operations. The margrave departed with a considerable force to invest Ingoldstadt; and reports that the Gallo-Bavarians had united and were marching towards the Danube, induced Marlborough to advance to Exheim, where Eugene took his leave. Some time after, on again meeting, it was their intention to take up a position beyond the Nebel, near Hochstadt; but as they were proceeding to survey the ground, some squadrons of the

enemy were perceived at a distance, and the two generals, mounting the steeple of Dampfeim church, discovered the quarter-masters of the enemy marking out a camp between Blenheim and Lützingen. This discovery charmed the two generals beyond measure. They resolved immediately to give battle before the enemy could strengthen themselves in their new position. Several officers knew the strength of the ground selected by the adversary, and earnestly advised that no action should be hazarded. They even ventured to remonstrate. Marlborough, however, had not made up his mind without due consideration. He knew that the post possessed by the enemy was capable of being put, in a very short time, out of all danger of attack. He was even of opinion, that a defeat itself would be scarcely more fatal than lying still and doing nothing. "I know the dangers of the case," said he, "but a battle is absolutely necessary; and as for success, I rely on the hope that the discipline and courage of the troops will make amends for all disadvantages." Orders were instantly given for a general engagement; and these were received with such cheerfulness and alacrity by the whole army, that all, who saw the joy they diffused, did not fail to regard it as a happy presage of the glorious success, that followed.

Every movement on the part of Marlborough showed, that he was resolved to conquer, or to die in his attempt. He passed part of the night in prayer, and, towards the morning, received the sacrament. Then, having taken a little rest, he concerted with Prince Eugene the arrangements for the action. His next act was to point out to the surgeons the proper posts for the wounded.

It is impossible, in a space so limited as that to

which we are confined, to give any description of the ensuing celebrated battle, that can in any way be satisfactory to military men. They will, doubtless, seek it in publications where matters of detail are considered of great importance. We shall only present our readers with Marlborough's own account of it, as published in the London Gazette : stating, however, from other sources, the relative force of the two armies. That of Marlborough consisted of forty-eight battalions and eighty-six squadrons ; that of Eugene, of eighteen battalions and seventy-four squadrons ; in all thirty-three thousand five hundred infantry, and eighteen thousand four hundred and twenty cavalry ; total, fifty-one thousand nine hundred and twenty. The Gallo-Bavarian force consisted of fifty-six thousand ; thus giving rather more than four thousand superiority to Marshal Tallard over Marlborough and Eugene. The French, however, in order to palliate their defeat, insist that Marlborough's army consisted of sixty-four thousand five hundred and sixty men.

About six in the morning of this celebrated day, the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene posted themselves on a rising ground, and called all the generals to give them the necessary directions for the attack. The army then advanced to the plain, and, having formed in order of battle, the chaplains performed service at the heads of all the regiments. The morning being hazy, the Gallo-Bavarians did not even suspect the approach of the enemy. They were taken completely by surprise. A gun sounded ; and such a battle was fought as had not been heard of in the memory of man. The enemy, after a long contest, was entirely defeated. " And here," says Lidiard, " it may not be an impro-

per digression, to observe what a power fear and consternation can have over a body of troops, when they are once possessed with it, of which we have a flagrant instance before us. Those troops, which composed the right of the French army, not only fled before the victorious English, but did it in the utmost confusion and disorder, without any regard to the command of their superiors, or observing whither or which way they fled. They looked upon themselves as lost beyond hope of recovery, and, giving way to despair, suffered themselves to be driven to perdition like a flock of sheep to the slaughter. A whole body of their cavalry, the best and most renowned of their whole army, seized with the same panic, hurried away the Marshal de Tallard with them in their flight; and, void of all thought, threw themselves, by whole squadrons, into the Danube, men and horses, officers and troopers. Some few had the good fortune to escape; but the greater part, to avoid an uncertain death, which at most could but have overtaken them in the field of battle and laid them down in the bed of honour, rushed upon a certain and ignominious death in the river. The impotent marshal, not capable of stemming this torrent of despair, was obliged to surrender prisoner of war, with several other general officers who were in his company."

Of all the infantry that Marshal de Tallard had brought to the assistance of the elector, only two battalions escaped; eight-and-twenty of the forty battalions he had brought were taken prisoners, and ten were entirely destroyed!

The fate of this celebrated day was no sooner decided, than the duke, still on horseback, took a slip of paper, on the back of which was a bill of tavern

expenses, out of his pocket, and while the cannon was still sounding in his ears, wrote with a black-lead pencil the following note to the duchess.

“ *August 13, 1704.*

“I have not time to say more, but to beg you will give my duty to the queen, and let her know her army has had a glorious victory. M. Tallard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest. The bearer, my aide-de-camp, Colonel Parker, will give her an account of what passed. I shall do it in a day or two, by another more at large.

MARLBOROUGH.”

Thus terminated this great battle, which will ever be memorable in the history of Europe. The total loss of the enemy is stated to have been no less than forty thousand men, including deserters and those who were killed in the retreat. There were fifteen thousand men taken prisoners, and one thousand two hundred officers, exclusive of generals. The loss, on the confederate side, was also very considerable; there being four thousand five hundred killed, and seven thousand five hundred wounded. These losses, however, were in some degree made up to the allied force by the number of deserters and prisoners who enlisted under the banners of victory; among which were two German regiments, amounting to three thousand men. The loss of the enemy, in other respects, was also very great: viz., one hundred pieces of cannon, twenty-four mortars, one hundred and twenty-nine colours, one hundred and seventy-one standards, three thousand six hundred tents, three hundred laden mules, thirty-four coaches, filled with ladies of the French officers, two bridges of boats, fifteen pontoons, twenty-four barrels and eight casks of silver. —Hitherto France could always palliate the victories

of her enemies ; but there could be no equivocation in this. Their loss was equal to that of the Romans at Cannæ.

Had the battle of Blenheim been lost, Germany would immediately have been at the mercy of France ; and perhaps the Protestant succession had been endangered in England. And here it will be proper to introduce the duke's letter, giving an account of this engagement, to Mr. Secretary Harley.

*“Camp at Hochstadt, Thursday morning,
August 14, 1704.*

“Sir,—I gave you an account, on Sunday, of the situation we were then in, and that we expected to hear the enemy would pass the Danube at Lawingen, in order to attack Prince Eugene. At eleven that night, we had an express from him, that the enemy were come over, and desiring that he might be reinforced as soon as possible ; whereupon I ordered my brother Churchill to advance, at one o'clock in the morning, with his twenty battalions, and, by three, the whole army was in motion. For the greater expedition, I ordered part of the troops to pass over the Danube, and follow the march of the twenty battalions, and, with most of the horse, and the foot of the first line. I passed the Lech at Rain, and came over the Danube at Donawerth ; so that we all joined the Prince that night, intending to advance and take this camp at Hochstadt. In order whereunto, we went out, on Tuesday early in the morning, with forty squadrons, to view the ground ; but found the enemy had already possessed themselves of it. Whereupon we resolved to attack them, and accordingly, we marched between three and four yesterday morning from the camp at Münster, leaving all our tents standing ; about six, we came in view of the enemy, who, we found, did not expect so early a visit. The cannon began to play about half an hour after eight. They formed themselves into two bodies ; the elector with M. Marsin and their troops, on our right, and M. de Tallard, with all his own on our left, which last fell to

my share. They had two little rivulets, besides a morass, before them, which we were obliged to pass over in their view, and Prince Eugene was forced to take a great compass to come to the enemy ; so that it was one o'clock before the battle began. It lasted with great vigour till sunset, when the enemy were obliged to retire, and, with the blessing of God, we obtained a complete victory : we have cut off great numbers of them, as well in the action, as in the retreat ; besides upwards of fifty squadrons of the French, which I had pushed into the Danube, where we saw the greatest part of them perish. M. de Tallard, with several of his general officers, being taken prisoners at the same time ; and, in the village of **BLenheim**, which the enemy had intrenched and fortified, and where they made the greatest opposition, I obliged twenty-six entire battalions and twelve squadrons of dragoons, to surrender themselves prisoners at discretion. We took, likewise, all their tents standing, with their cannon and ammunition, as also a great number of standards, kettle-drums, and colours in the action. So that I reckon the greater part of M. Tallard's army is taken or destroyed. The bravery of our troops on this occasion cannot be expressed ; the generals, as well as the officers and soldiers, behaving themselves with the greatest courage and resolution ; the horse and dragoons having been obliged to charge several times. The elector and M. Marsin were so advantageously posted, that Prince Eugene could make no impression on them, till the third attack, at near seven at night, when he made a great slaughter of them ; but being near a wood-side, a good body of Bavarians retired into it, and the rest of that army retreated towards Lawingen, it being too late, and the troops too much tired, to pursue them far. I cannot say too much in the praise of the prince's good conduct, and the bravery of his troops on this occasion. You will please to lay this before her majesty and his royal highness, to whom I send my Lord Tunbridge with the good news. I pray you will likewise inform yourself, and let me know her majesty's pleasure, as well relating to M. Tallard and the other general officers, as for the disposal of near twelve hundred other officers, and between

eight or nine thousand common soldiers, who being all made prisoners by her majesty's troops, are entirely at her disposal; but as the charge of subsisting these officers and men must be very great, I presume her majesty will be inclined that they be changed for any other prisoners that offer. I should likewise be glad to receive her majesty's directions for the despatch of the standards and colours, whereof I have not yet the number, but guess there cannot be less than one hundred, which is more than has been taken in any battle these many years. You will easily believe, that in so long and vigorous an action, the English, who had so great a share in it, must have suffered as well in officers as men, but I have not yet the particulars.

"I am your most obedient, humble servant.

"MARLBOROUGH."

In this battle Prince Eugene distinguished himself so highly, that he was, ever after, regarded as second only to Marlborough*. There was, however, no contention for pre-eminence between them. Contemporary writers justly describe them as two bodies animated by one soul. This concord was equally conspicuous throughout all the trying and perilous events of the war; and may be regarded as one of the principal causes which produced such extraordinary success. Marlborough was, however, far

* The following account is from the text of Baron de Boek: "Le jour de l'audience arriva, et M. de Loudon fut présenté au roi. Mais Frédéric II. après l'avoir considéré très-attentivement, lui tourna le dos, et dit aux officiers de sa suite: 'La physionomie de cet homme ne me revient pas.'"

"Alors s'éloigna des états de ce prince un homme qui à n'en juger que par les apparences, étoit peu important, mais qui, dans la suite, devint le plus redoutable adversaire de ce puissant monarque."

"It is not a little remarkable, that Louis XIV. conceiving a similar disgust to Prince Eugene of Savoy, who was originally an abbé, first refused him a prebend, and then a company of dragoons; on which he repaired to Vienna, and at length made the court of France repent of its conduct towards him at the battle of Hochstadt."

from being satisfied with the conduct of the imperial cavalry,—for their want of spirit had not only rendered the victory less decisive, but might have occasioned the loss of the whole army; and it certainly would have done so, had not Marlborough's own attack been so eminently fortunate. He, however, carefully discriminated between the deficiencies of the troops and the merits of the general: and so far did he carry this distinction, that when he received letters of compliment from the emperor and the King of the Romans, he studiously refrained from making any reply; for he would not convey censure, in compliment to Prince Eugene; nor could he pass undeserved praise upon them, out of respect to himself.

The day after the battle, Marlborough established himself in camp at Sefelingen, in the vicinity of Ulm. There he wrote many letters, amongst which one to the duchess; in which he says, "I am so pleased with this action, that I cannot end my letter without being so vain as to tell my dearest soul, that within the memory of man there has been no victory so great as this; and as I am sure you love me entirely well, you will be infinitely pleased with what has been done, upon my account as well as the great benefit the public will have. For had the success of Prince Eugene been equal to his merit, we should in that day's action have made an end of the war." In another letter he says, "We flatter ourselves that we have done all that could have been expected from us. This day the whole army returned their thanks to Almighty God for the late success, and I have done it with all my heart; for never was victory so complete, notwithstanding that they were stronger than we, and very advantageously posted. But

believe me, my dear soul, there was an absolute necessity for the good of the common cause to make this venture, which God has so blessed."

The Dutch, on receiving news of the victory, sent the duke congratulations couched in a very complimentary manner; and the emperor, having received permission from the queen, created him a prince of the empire. This honour his majesty announced to the duke in the following terms:—

"MOST ILLUSTRIOUS COUSIN AND MOST DEAR PRINCE,—I do gladly call by these names your grace, (or rather dilection, a style by which princes of the empire go,) whom I have freely, and of my own accord, admitted among the princes of the Holy Roman Empire, not so much in consideration of your noble family as upon account of your personal merit, and your great deserts towards me, my august house, and the Holy Roman Empire. I have been willing that this public monument of the supreme honour in Germany, which I have so deservedly conferred upon you, should remain, that it may more and more appear to all the world how much, as I freely own it, I and all the empire owe to the most serene Queen of Great Britain, for having sent her powerful assistance as far as Augsburg, and Bavaria itself, under your conduct, when my own affairs, and those of the empire, were so much shaken and dissolved by the perfidious defection of the Bavarians to the French; and to your grace, upon account that things have been so prudently, so vigorously, and successfully transacted; for not only fame; but likewise the generals of my forces, the companions and sharers of your labours and victories, attribute the same chiefly to your counsel and the valour and bravery of the English, and other forces, who fought under your conduct. These actions are so great, and particularly that of Höchstadt, past ages having never seen the like victories obtained over the French, that we may rejoice to see not only the most pernicious efforts of the enemy repulsed, and the affairs of Germany, which were somewhat tottering, or rather those of all Europe, secured and settled again; but likewise

that it may be reasonably hoped that the full and perfect liberty of the Christian world shall be rescued from the power of France, which was so imminently impending over it. Being entirely persuaded and sure that your grace will, without intermission, apply all your care and industry towards that end, there remains nothing else for me but to wish you a prosperous success, and that I assure you of farther marks of my gratitude, upon all occasions, which I shall be ready to express."

The duke, however, thought proper to decline a mere empty title, and the grant was suspended at his own request.

The good effects of Marlborough's victory were not confined to the present scene. The French had, for many years, not sustained any considerable defeat. They looked upon themselves, therefore, almost as invincible,* and other countries had regarded them much in the same manner. This victory, however, broke the charm, and transferred the wreath which fame had wrought for their standard to that of the allies. In France despondency succeeded to presumption; while the other nations of Europe reflected on their former alarms with indignation and shame, and the King of the Romans became so willing now to share the dangers and honours of the war, that he resorted to Marlborough's camp before Landau, and, assuming the nominal command, told the duke and Prince Eugene how happy he was to serve under

* After the battle, and when Tallard was in the duke's tent, the marshal is reported to have said, "Your grace has beaten the best troops in the world." "I hope," answered the duke, "you except the troops that defeated them?" This anecdote reminds us of another. The duke, being at the Duke of Montague's many years after, expressed great admiration of the fire-works there; "They are equal," said his grace, "to those of Louis XIVth at Versailles." "No, my lord duke, my water-works are not equal to his; but your grace's fire-works are greatly superior."

their auspices. The joy in the emperor's dominions was indeed excessive; all the ambassadors at the imperial court congratulated his imperial majesty on the great event; and it is reported that Mehemet Effendi, envoy from the Porte, broke out into this exclamation, "The emperor of the Christians is a man of God; God is with him, and his enemies can never resist him!" The emperor himself was so transported, that he erected a pyramid in the place where the battle was won, with an inscription, in letters of gold, relating all the principal circumstances of the action.

When the battle was over the Elector of Bavaria marched with such expedition, that before the allies decamped from Hochstadt he was within a day's march of Uffingen, whither Marshal Villeroy had advanced to favour his retreat. The household troops, and all the cavalry, met him in the defiles. He received M. de Villeroy with great politeness. "Sir," said he, "things have turned out otherwise than we expected; but this crisis, violent as it is, makes no change in me, who am still equally devoted to his majesty. I have now sacrificed my dominions and family for his service, and, if need be, will next sacrifice my life."

The subjugation of Bavaria was the immediate consequence of this battle, and this circumstance induced many officers to hope that the operations of the year would have closed; but Marlborough and Eugene were too enterprising to confine their views to mere present advantages. The duke, however, having arrived in the low marshy country bordering the Rhine, became afflicted with violent ague, which for several days suspended all attention to military duties. The complaint yielded to the remedies

applied, but it left him for some time in a state of great languor and weakness.

At this period he was before Landau, the siege of which having lasted for more than a month, he became weary of it, and, therefore, meditated the design of opening the next campaign on the Moselle, the most vulnerable part of the French frontier. This design he put in execution. He made a thousand masterly movements through a very difficult country, but our limits will only allow us to give results. His object was to get possession of Treves, and thus secure winter quarters, for the purpose, as we have already stated, of opening in that part of the country the next campaign. This expedition was successful. By the celerity of his movements he just arrived in time to prevent the enemy from pre-occupying Treves. Possessed of so important a place, he employed 6,000 of the neighbouring peasantry to repair the fortifications; and having settled the distribution of winter quarters, he returned to the camp before Landau. "The campaign," said he in a letter to Lord Godolphin, "I reckon is now over, since the winter-quarters are settled on the Moselle; which, I think, will give France as much uneasiness as any thing that has been done this summer."

When it became known in England that Marlborough had marched into Germany, the whole faction, that was hostile to him and his supporters, opened upon him in full-cry. "They exclaimed," we are told, "against the rashness of the expedition; they censured him for leaving the Dutch exposed; and they accused him of having gone beyond his instructions, and exceeded any power of a subject, for the sake of his own private interest. He was even menaced with being brought to the block if the

event should be as disastrous as these base enemies predicted and hoped; and one of the leading members of the opposition went even so far as to declare, that when the general should return he would pounce upon him as hounds pounce upon a hare." When the news of the victory arrived in England these persons were for a time overwhelmed, as it were, with confusion. The country at large, on the contrary, was thrown into a paroxysm of delight and admiration. The queen repaired in state to St. Paul's, to offer up a solemn thanksgiving for the success of her arms; addresses flowed in from all quarters: and what the feelings of the populace were may in some measure be imagined from what Mrs. Burnet (wife of the Bishop of Salisbury) wrote to the duchess. "The common people, who I feared had grown stupid, have and do show greater signs of satisfaction and triumph than I ever saw before on any good success whatever."

There was a party, however, who strove, with all the power of disappointed faction and frustrate prophecy, to depreciate the conduct of Marlborough and the consequences of his victory. This victory they reprobated as "an useless waste of blood, and the first of an endless series of conflicts with a power which rose, like the hydra, with new vigour from every defeat." "As to weakening the French king," said they, "it is no more than taking a bucket of water out of the river." When Marlborough heard of this, he answered, "If they will allow me to draw one or two such buckets more, we might then let the river run quietly, and not much apprehend its overflowing and destroying its neighbours." His sentiments in regard to parties at this time may be guessed by what he wrote to the duchess when in the camp of

St. Wendel : "I hope I shall never be desired to recommend anybody in a place of trust, being what I have resolved positively not to do. I shall serve the queen with all my soul, even to the hazard of a thousand lives if I had them. But while I live, I will meddle with no business but what belongs to the army. And this I shall beg of the queen on my knees, if there be any occasion for it ; and from henceforward shall never more use the expression of being of no party ; but shall certainly not care what any party thinks of me, being resolved to recommend myself to the people of England by being, to the best of my understanding, in the truest interests of my country."

The affairs of Italy at this time wore a bad aspect. On that side everything was in danger of being lost unless a reinforcement of troops could be promptly supplied. The Duke of Savoy, the emperor, and the King of the Romans, sensible that no one could supply this want but the King of Prussia, and having full confidence that Marlborough might be able to persuade that monarch to furnish it, invited him to undertake that negociation. To this the duke consented, but very unwillingly, and less from any hope of success than the resolve that no one should have an opportunity of reproaching him for leaving anything undone. He set off, therefore, on the 15th of November, for Berlin, leaving the command of the army to Prince Eugene.

He arrived at Berlin on the evening of the 22d of November, having been received with extraordinary respect in all the towns through which he passed. The king and queen honoured him with many marks of regard, giving a ball and supper in celebration of his arrival ; and a few days after, his majesty had a

combat of wild beasts in his amphitheatre to entertain him. The duke found some difficulty at first in respect to Savoy, but he obtained at last the king's promise that he would send 8,000 men to the Duke of Savoy's assistance.

Having obtained the chief object of his mission, Marlborough returned through Hanover, where he paid his respects to the elector, and having learnt that Landau had been taken, he concerted plans at the Hague for the next campaign. He then embarked on board one of the queen's yachts, under convoy of several ships of war, with Marshal Tallard, and other distinguished prisoners of war, and landed at the Tower, whence he went directly to St. James's, where he was received with every mark of grace and favour by the queen and his royal highness, Prince George of Denmark.

On the following day, the duke took his seat in the House of Peers, and was greeted by the lord-keeper with a congratulatory address; and the same day a committee of the Commons attended him, to express their thanks for his great and glorious services. The lord-keeper's address being a very eloquent one, we give it verbatim.

"The happy success, that hath attended her majesty's armies under your grace's command in Germany the last campaign, is so truly great, so truly glorious, in all its circumstances, that few instances in the history of former ages can equal, much less excel the lustre of it. Your grace has not overthrown young unskilful generals, raw and undisciplined troops; but your grace has conquered the French and Bavarian armies; armies that were fully instructed in all the arts of war, select veteran troops, flushed with former victories, and commanded by generals of great experience and bravery. The glorious victories, your grace has obtained at Schellenberg and Hochstadt

are very great, very illustrious, in themselves, but they are greater still in their consequences to her majesty and her allies. The emperor is thereby relieved, the empire itself freed from a very dangerous enemy in the very bowels of it, the exorbitant power of France is checked, and I hope a happy step made towards reducing that monarch within his due bounds, and securing the liberties of Europe. The honour of these glorious victories, great as they are, (under the immediate blessing of Almighty God,) is chiefly, if not alone, owing to your grace's conduct and valour. This is the unanimous voice of England and all her majesty's allies."

To this address, as well as that of the Commons, the duke returned a very modest answer; giving all the glory, under Divine blessing, to the officers and soldiers who had accompanied him in his expedition, and acted with great courage and bravery. In the meantime the French generals were sent to Nottingham and Lichfield, escorted by a detachment of the Duke of Northumberland's royal regiment of horse. The standards and colours taken at Blenheim were put up in Westminster Hall, the city of London gave the general a magnificent entertainment, and the Commons voted an address to the queen, requesting her majesty to consider of some proper means "with which to perpetuate the memory of the great service, performed by the duke." To this recommendation her majesty answered, "Gentlemen, I am well pleased with this address, and I will take it into consideration as you desire, and send you my thoughts upon it in a little time." In conformity with this promise her majesty shortly after informed the House that, in compliance with their wishes, she purposed to convey to the duke and his heirs all the interest, the crown had in the manor and honour of Woodstock, with the hundred of Wootton. She

therefore requested supplies for clearing off the incumbrances on that domain. A bill for the purpose was immediately introduced, passed both houses without opposition, and received the royal sanction on the 14th of March (1704). By this act the manor and hundred were conveyed to the duke and his heirs, all of whom were, by the same instrument, enjoined to render to the queen and her successors a standard, with three flower-de-luces, on the 2d of August in every year, at Windsor Castle. Nor was this all. Not satisfied that the nation alone should testify its gratitude, her majesty accompanied the grant with an order to the board of works to erect a splendid palace at her majesty's expense, which, as a monument of the late splendid victory, she commanded to be called **BLenheim Castle**.

The supplies having been granted for the public service, and all the military preparations matured, nothing remained to keep Marlborough in England: he embarked, therefore, at Harwich, on the 31st of March, in one of the royal yachts, under the convoy of a squadron, commanded by the Marquis of Carmarthen, and, after a troublesome and dangerous passage, reached the Hague. "I have been so sick at sea," he wrote to the duchess, "that my blood is as hot as if I were in a fever, which makes my head ache extremely,"—(this was a complaint to which he was greatly subject,)—"so that I beg you to excuse me to Lord Treasurer; for I can write to nobody but my dear soul, whom I love above my life."

As soon as his health would permit, he communicated to the States the plan for the ensuing campaign, which had been secretly concerted with Prince Eugene, and subsequently approved by the British cabinet. But here he again experienced the same

want of vigour, unanimity, resolution, and authority, he had experienced before; "all the vices, in fact, absurdities, and evils inherent in a feeble and many-headed government." Marlborough's design was to make the Moselle the scene of action, and care had been taken to lay up magazines in Treves for that purpose. To effect this, however, two things were necessary. First, to get the concurrence of the Dutch, who were unwilling to let their troops go so far from their frontiers, lest they should lose in one campaign the barrier they had been forming in two or three; secondly, to stimulate the slowness of the Germans, without whose active assistance the duke could expect to do little. The Dutch, however, were for some time reluctant: they could not be made to understand the benefit the plan would be of to them; which was no other than that of depriving France of the means either of enlarging her conquests in Piedmont or of protecting Spain, by putting her on the necessity of defending herself at home. In fact, the Dutch raised so many objections, that the duke was constrained to say, in a letter to the Duke of Savoy, "I am like a sick body, that turns from one part of the bed to another; for I would fain be gone from hence, in hopes to find more quiet in the army. God only knows what ease I may find when I come there." At length, however, the Dutch were made to understand the wisdom of the duke's plan, and consented to it; on which he set off for Maestricht, where he arrived on the 8th of May.

There were still greater difficulties to surmount before the campaign could be opened, and those consisted in combating the tardy and interested policy of the court at Vienna. "With an aged monarch," says Mr. Coxe, "the government itself was verging

to decrepitude: the business was principally conducted by superannuated ministers, whose sole merit was a mechanical acquaintance with the routine of office, and whose combined efforts and chief attention were employed in combating the interest and counter-acting the grand schemes of Prince Eugene." "Too limited in their ideas," continues the same authority, "to comprehend the military policy which was conceived by Marlborough and supported by Eugene, their views were confined to the affairs of Hungary."

Eugene was so indignant at these puerile views, that he refused to take any share either in civil or military business, unless more vigorous councils were adopted; and this determination so confounded the emperor's ministers, that they one and all shrunk from the responsibility of their own counsels, and thus Eugene prevailed. This change, however, was too late to be felt at the opening of the campaign. The emperor, the German princes, and the States-general, acting for once, as it were, alike, all disappointed the British general. The Margrave of Baden, too, was decidedly averse to acting in any way with Marlborough, being indignant at the confidence placed in Prince Eugene in preference to himself, and mortified by the fame of Marlborough, which so far eclipsed his own. Marlborough, however, having received an excuse from the margrave for not visiting him, undertook a journey to Rastadt to visit him, and there an understanding took place between them. In the meantime the aged emperor (Leopold) died, and Joseph, his successor, adopted a more vigorous policy. "Whatever your excellence," said the new sovereign in a letter to the duke, "has lost by the death of my father, you will find partly compensated by me; for

you have a double title to my regard : first, from your services ; and secondly, I succeed by hereditary right to his throne and his regard for you." " If my affairs," continued his imperial majesty, " permitted me, I would do myself the pleasure of joining you at the army, to testify in person the sentiments of my esteem and friendship. I have, nevertheless, ordered the Prince of Baden to act in concert with you on the Moselle, and I wish you a campaign as glorious as that of last year."

Marlborough arrived on the Moselle on the 28th of May ; but there, to his great chagrin and disappointment, he found that, instead of 80,000 men, for which the campaign had been planned, he found himself at the head of little more than half that number, while Villars, who was opposed to him, had not less than 55,000. The preparations, too, on the part of the enemy were as mature and prompt as those of the allies were imperfect and tardy.

After many marches, the allied army arrived within a quarter of a league of Sirk. It being too late to encamp, the troops lay on their arms all night. The next morning they encamped at Elft, within sight of the hostile army. This caused the enemy to retreat and entrench themselves, and they did it so skilfully that no possibility was left of attacking them with success. This, however, was no disappointment to the duke, for he had at present no design of attacking them ; his advancing so far being only to cover the intended siege of Saare-Louis, the taking possession of which place being of such great importance, that the success of the whole campaign on that side depended upon it.

Villars was too wise, on the other hand, to attack Marlborough ; he, therefore, took possession of Sirk,

a place well known in history, and arranged his forces so as to protect Saare-Louis, Thionville, and Luxemburg. These places it was the intention of Marlborough to have besieged, and he would have done so, had not the allies deceived him in not sending the quantum of force they had engaged to send. "Had I known beforehand," said the duke, "what I must have endured by relying on the people of this country, no reason should have persuaded me to undertake this campaign. I will, however, by the help of God, do my best, and then I must submit to what may happen. But it is impossible to be quiet and not complain, when there is all the probability imaginable for a glorious campaign, to see it all put in doubt by the negligence of princes whose interest it is to help us with all they have."

While Marlborough was thus crippled by the failure of his allies, the French army, under Villeroy, made a sudden effort on the Meuse, captured Huy, took Liege, and invested the citadel. So great a panic spread through the United Provinces at learning this, that they immediately sent to recal thirty battalions from Marlborough's army. This, with a thousand other disappointments and vexations, made him determine on calling a council of war. This was immediately held, and the resolution come to at it was, that Marlborough should march to the Meuse. "My head and heart," said he at this time, in a letter to the duchess, "are so full of the disappointments I have met with in this country, that I do from my soul wish to be out of this troublesome business; for I see but too plainly that the jealousy of Prince Louis and the backwardness of the German princes will always hinder us from succeeding here, which is the most sensible part in which we

might do the most hurt to France." "I think," said he in another letter, "that if it were possible to vex me so for a fortnight longer, it would make an end of me." Shortly after he says—"I am sure you are so just and kind to me as to believe that, during this campaign, I shall take all occasion of doing service to the queen and prince, and after that you will not blame me if I am desirous to live in quiet; for if I shall be obliged to continue as I am, my days must be very short. I am wasted to nothing, having perpetual vexations, fearing the world may blame me for other people's faults." The duke, however, had no occasion to be so studiously anxious in regard to what others might think; for he received numerous testimonies of condolence for his disappointments, especially from the emperor and her majesty, the queen.

According to the resolution come to at this council, the duke marched to the Meuse. He used almost incredible expedition; and by this changed the face of affairs; for he thereby obliged the enemy to raise the siege of the citadel of Liege. On arriving at Maestricht, he compelled the French to retreat within their lines. The castle of Huy was invested and retaken; and the disappointment on the Moselle sitting very heavy upon him, his grace resolved to recover what had been lost, by undertaking something worthy of himself on the Meuse; and as no enterprise appeared more difficult in itself, or more advantageous in its consequences, he summoned a council of war, and again proposed the forcing of the French lines. This proposition was, as usual, opposed by the Dutch generals; but the majority of the council being in its favour, the attack was made, and the lines forced. The Dutch part of the army, how-

ever, did not come up till the action was over ; and this excited Marlborough's men to speak to him and of him in the very heat of the action with so much enthusiasm and affection, that he owned that it gave him great pleasure, insomuch that it had made him resolve to endure any thing for their sakes.

In this action two lieutenant-generals and two major-generals, and a great number of officers and soldiers, more than a thousand in all, were taken prisoners, and nine standards. In regard to the conduct of his men, Marlborough spoke in the most favourable terms : " It is impossible to say too much of the troops that were with me, for never men fought better. Having marched all night, and taken a good deal of pains this day, my blood is so hot, that I can scarcely hold my pen ; so that you will, my dearest life, excuse me if I say no more, but that I would not let you know my design of attacking the lines by the last post, fearing it might give you uneasiness ; and now, my dearest soul, my heart is so full of joy for this good success, that, should I write more, I should say a great many follies."

His grace also wrote an account of his victory to the queen, and received a highly satisfactory letter in reply, which the duke answered with the warmest expressions of gratitude for her condescension and kindness. He wrote an account of it also to the States, in reply to which they were pleased, among other things, to say, " Our generals allow that this victory, under God, is entirely due to your excellency's care, prudence, and valour, having surmounted and conquered those difficulties and obstacles which, for above two years, have appeared insurmountable and invincible." The emperor also sent him a very flattering letter. Marlborough's messen-

ger arrived at Vienna on the day on which his imperial majesty was celebrating his 28th birth-day. The officer was received in a very distinguished manner, and the emperor was pleased to express his gratitude in very ardent terms. "Your general," said he, "has performed such services to the common cause, and to our family in particular, that they can never be forgotten by me or my posterity."

The duke exposed himself greatly in this battle. The duchess had expressed an anxiety lest he should do so on some occasion when it might not be prudent. "My dearest soul," said he in reply, "I love you so well, and have set my heart so entirely on ending my days with you in quiet, that you may be so far at ease as to be assured, that I never venture myself but when I think the service of my queen and country requires it. Besides, I am now at an age when I find no heat in my blood, that gives me temptation to expose myself out of vanity; but as I would deserve and keep the kindness of the army, I must let them see that, when I expose them, I would not exempt myself." Harley, however, thought proper to write to him on this subject; for it is certain that Marlborough, every now and then, exposed himself more than was prudent and becoming in a general, on whom the whole interests of Europe at that time depended. "Your friends and servants," said Harley, "cannot be without concern on your grace's account, when we hear how much you expose that precious life of yours on all occasions, and that you are not contented to do the part of a great general, but you condescend to take your share as a common soldier." It is very remarkable that this letter proceeded from a person, who should afterwards be so mean and unjust as to sanction those libellers

(Swift and Manley) who descended to so despicable an insinuation, as that Marlborough was deficient in personal courage.

The news of this victory excited, as usual, great satisfaction in England. It was celebrated by a public *Te Deum*, and the queen went to St. Paul's, as she had done after the battle of Blenheim, to return a thanksgiving. In the meantime the duke attempted to force the passage of the Dyle. He soon after formed a plan to march round the sources of that river, and to force the position of the enemy on the Ische; but he was in both instances again thwarted by the same factious opponents he had been before, and the skilful manœuvres he had executed were all rendered of no avail from the malicious opposition of Slangenberg and his Dutch adherents. In consequence of this, Marlborough retreated to Lower Wavre. He could have brought the French to action near Waterloo—a place so greatly distinguished since—but these feeble Dutchmen again forbade him to engage, and that at a time when he expected even a greater victory than that, which he obtained at Blenheim; and at a moment also when the French were so sure of defeat, if the English general had been permitted to charge, that (as was afterwards ascertained) they would not even have ventured attempting to stand their ground.

As the army was proceeding towards Holberg, Marlborough perceived that the opposite position was very slenderly guarded. He immediately saw his opportunity, and at mid-day rode along the front to issue his final instructions. As he passed, he met the Dutch deputies, and telling them how favourable the moment was, earnestly pressed them to give orders for their troops to advance. To this one of the

deputies made answer, "Your highness will doubtless allow us to request the opinion of our generals." This was done. "Gentlemen," said the duke, "I have reconnoitred the ground, and made dispositions for the attack. I am convinced that, conscientiously and as men of honour, we cannot now retire without an action. Should we neglect this opportunity, we must be responsible before God and man. You see the confusion, which pervades the ranks of the enemy, and their embarrassment at our manœuvres. I leave you to judge whether we should attack to-day or wait till to-morrow." On hearing this, Slangenberg exclaimed, "Since I have been led to this place without any previous communication of the design, I will give no other opinion than that the passage at Over Ische is impracticable. However, I am ready to obey the orders I may receive." "I am happy," answered the duke, without seeming to recognise the insolence of this speech, "to have under my command an officer of your courage and skill; and I flatter myself that in a situation which requires instant decision you will start no difficulties." He then proposed the attack, but Slangenberg answered, "Murder and massacre!" So much time was afterwards lost in what the Dutch called deliberation, that darkness at length compelled all parties to return to their respective quarters; on which Marlborough was so stung with mortification at losing what he considered so glorious an opportunity, that he exclaimed, in a tone which sufficiently denoted the intensity of his feelings, "I am ten years older than I was four days ago!"

On arriving at his tent he immediately wrote to the States-general, pointing out to them the opportunity which had been lost, and stating that he was

disposed to throw up his command rather than permit his character to be placed in situations in which it must be compromised, not only in the eyes of the enemy, but in those of the world at large. The deputies, too, sent their statements; but the letter of Marlborough having been printed surreptitiously before it was communicated to the States, a deep sensation was produced, and the burghers held an assembly to remonstrate against the misconduct of their deputies and generals. In England, indignation governed all ranks. But the writer of the London Gazette, for reasons, that have never been satisfactorily explained, misrepresented the whole matter in a very extraordinary manner. The ministry, however, would have sent some person of weight and consideration to the States to complain of their deputies and generals, but it was afterwards thought better to refrain from it. In the meantime, the Dutch government, alarmed lest Marlborough should resign his command, made some reparation by removing Slangenberg, the most culpable of their generals; and Eugene, by writing him a friendly and considerate letter, did something to allay the irritation of Marlborough's mind. "It is extremely cruel," said the prince, "that opinions so weak and discordant have obstructed the progress of your operations, when you had every reason to expect so glorious a result. I speak to you as a sincere friend; you will never be able to perform anything considerable with your army unless you are absolute; and I trust your highness will use your utmost efforts to gain that power in future. I am no less desirous than yourself to be once more united with you in command."

Marlborough's army now retraced its steps by

retrograde marches to Tirlemont, during his stay at which place he took advantage of being so near Spa, and drank the waters. At the close of the autumn he turned from the toil of war to the no less urgent affairs of negotiation, and repaired to Vienna and Berlin. "No man," says the elegant but anonymous writer to whom we have now and then been obliged in the course of this narrative, "possessed a greater perfection in the art of bringing difficult negotiations to the termination which he desired; and this was owing not more to the clearness of his judgment and the quickness of his comprehensive mind, than to his native courtesy, and to that genuine candour which men are sometimes led to imitate when they feel and admire it." "Added to this," the same authority goes on to observe, "the rank which Marlborough held in the eyes of all Europe—for no subject had ever stood so conspicuously eminent in modern times—had its imposing effect."

With a view of forming plans for the next campaign, the emperor invited the duke to Vienna.

"Vienna, Sept. 6, 1705.

"MOST ILLUSTRIOUS COUSIN AND DEAREST PRINCE,—
You have given so many proofs of zeal for my august house and the common good, that I easily persuade myself you will readily embrace whatever may conduce to the prosecution of the present difficult but necessary war. You will understand that nothing can conduce more to this end than to ascertain the sentiments of the confederates as early as possible this winter, in order to resolve with secrecy what is to be undertaken by their united forces against the common enemy next spring; and from the many proofs I have received of your good affection, I promise myself that, though the journey hither be long, you will gladly undertake it for the common good. In the meantime, I will use all possible endeavours to get all

that is necessary for the war in readiness. Recruits are already raising in my hereditary kingdoms and provinces, and I expect from my states a sum of money proportionate to their abilities ; the necessary generals shall be also ready to assist at this council. I persuade myself, your most serene queen and the States-general will in no way be wanting to this good end, since there is great hopes that, matters being thus disposed, the next expedition may be as fortunate to the allies as the last, by the influence of the queen and States and by your conduct, was glorious, and fatal to the enemy. And I do again repeat my assurances of my most kind affection to you."

" Sept. 27.

" MOST ILLUSTRIOUS COUSIN AND DEAREST PRINCE.— Although I do not doubt but you have fully understood from my last letter the desire I had to deliberate with you here in person, and particularly to confer with you on the operations of the next campaign ; yet such is the weight and consequence of this affair that I cannot conceal from you that, as your presence is the chief hinge on which the main stress of the war now turns, so the greatest part of my consolation, as well as the life and hopes of the confederates, depend thereon. I cannot deny that your most serene queen will soon have occasion for the presence of so great a man, yet I have no reason to doubt that her generosity will readily spare so little a time as this journey will take up to me and the common cause. The delay will be amply recompensed by the advantage of the counsels which, from your great prudence and experience, you will be able to give. I do again, therefore, kindly intreat you to undertake this journey, notwithstanding it may seem somewhat troublesome, and to embrace this new opportunity of adding new lustre to your name, already so renowned through the world, and augmenting the many and great obligations you have laid on my august family and the common cause of the allies. I conclude with constant assurances of my most kind affection."

To this journey the duke was urged by various considerations ; and having the queen's orders, he

accepted the invitation, and to that end set out from the army, and arriving at Frankfort, he was waited upon by Prince Lewis of Baden. As Prince Lewis had been, in a great measure, the cause of the duke's progress on the Moselle being disappointed, it was thought that Marlborough would on this occasion have shown some marks of resentment ; but though they were both strictly watched at the interview, nothing appeared in their treatment of each other but all imaginable demonstrations of friendship and good humour.

On the 6th of November the Duke arrived at Ratisbon, and the same evening embarked on the Danube in a splendid yacht, in order to proceed by water to Vienna ; "admiring, as he sailed along," says Mr. Coxe, "the picturesque scenery which enlivens the banks of that noble river, and frequently recalling to mind the milder beauties of his own country, which he again longed to enjoy."

He arrived at Vienna on the 12th of November, and was complimented by the government with the offer of the splendid palace of the Prince of Dietrichstein, which had been fitted up for his reception ; but he thought proper to decline this offer, and took up his abode in the house of his son-in-law, the ambassador, (Lord Sunderland).

On the day after his arrival, the duke had an audience of their imperial majesties, and a few days afterwards a conference with the Prince of Solms, and other public ministers, at which the emperor was present. The same evening he was a long while in conversation with the emperor, during which his majesty was pleased to declare in person what he had already done by letter, that his grace's services "could never be forgotten by him or his posterity." Shortly after the duke was seized with a fit of

the gout, which confined him three days to his chamber, during which he was visited by all persons of the greatest distinction then at court. His majesty afterwards presented him with a ring of great value, created him a prince of the Roman empire, and conferred on him the lordship of Mindelheim, which he had lately erected into a principality, in order to fulfil the formalities required by the German constitution. This lordship was in Suabia, not far from Augsburg, and lately possessed by Duke Maximilian, uncle to the Elector of Bavaria. By the terms of the grant it was enacted, that his grace and his heirs male, as possessors of that principality, should be summoned to all diets of the empire and circle of Suabia, there to appear in person, or by their plenipotentiary, as other princes of the empire do; and should also enjoy all other advantages, immunities, rights, prerogatives, and pre-eminences, as princes of the empire have. In harmony with this, the duke was ever after acknowledged and called (in Germany) by the style and title of Prince of Mindelheim.*

* The reader will doubtless be gratified by knowing what kind of a territory that of Mindelheim was. It is thus described by Dr. Heyland:—"The territory of Mindelheim is agreeably situated; the air is healthy, and the soil fertile. It consists of arable, pasture, and forest, is rich in all sorts of corn, well stocked with cattle, and abounds with deer and wild boars. The length is six leagues, and the breadth from three to four. The clear yearly revenue may be estimated at 15,000 or 20,000 German florins; to which may be added certain seignorial rights, particularly tolls and customs. The country also produces a small quantity of saltpetre. The natives are industrious, and would be in good circumstances, had they not been exhausted by frequent wars. The greater part are labourers or breeders of cattle; others are employed in making linen, which manufacture would improve if they were better provided with hands; but for want of weavers, the poorer farmers are obliged to sell their thread, of which they spin large quantities, to foreign manufacturers. The wood, which abounds, is rendered less valuable by the want of water conveyance."

The objects for which Marlborough visited Vienna, and his success in regard to them, are thus stated by Mr. Coxe :—" He arranged the conditions of a new alliance between the maritime powers and the house of Austria, which had ceased on the death of the late emperor ; he likewise obtained assurances from the present emperor that he would grant fair and honourable terms to the Hungarian insurgents, and omit no concession in his power to extinguish a civil war, which had hitherto crippled his efforts, to the detriment of the common cause. He allayed the bickerings which had arisen with the court of Prussia, and persuaded that emperor to offer such terms as were likely to satisfy that interested and punctilious monarch. He was equally fortunate in soothing the jealousy which had arisen between the States-general and the court of Vienna. He convinced the emperor that they would not listen to the fallacious overtures of France ; and, as a proof of their zeal, he announced their ready concurrence with England in the promised loan and the intended reinforcements for Italy. These successes he announced to Godolphin. ' Their only hopes,' said he, ' are solely on the queen, they being very much dissatisfied with the negotiations this summer in Holland. My journey hither has been of use in letting the emperor see that his affairs will not allow of his quarrelling with Holland, since that would only end in giving advantage to France.' "

Having effected these services for the common cause, the duke left Vienna with his son-in-law, Lord Sunderland, and with all possible despatch hastened to Berlin. To further his speed, the emperor ordered horses to be at every stage, at his own expense, and several officers of the court rode before, to provide

everything in readiness, so that nothing might retard the journey. By this means, the duke was enabled to travel with extraordinary speed, notwithstanding the season of the year. He left Vienna on the 23d, and arrived at Berlin on the 30th.

On the evening of his arrival his grace had a private conference of the king, and conducted his audience so satisfactorily, that he entirely won the esteem of Frederick, who, before his departure from Berlin, granted almost all he wished, and presented him with a sword enriched with diamonds, and his son-in-law with a diamond ring of considerable value. The king also consented to renew all treaties, more especially that he had concluded last year, and which had for its object the continuance of the 8,000 men in Italy, and the replacement of losses which had been incurred in the preceding campaign; with a promise to send three battalions in the room of the horse he had commanded to be recalled.

Though all these subjects were arranged greatly to the satisfaction of the duke, he was not so fortunate in conciliating his Prussian majesty in regard to the Dutch, the king being exceedingly displeased with the States for their non-payment of arrears due. He was also so averse to his troops remaining under the command of the Margrave of Baden, that Marlborough found it absolutely impossible to make any arrangements in regard to the regiments which had recently been recalled from the Upper Rhine. He quitted Berlin, however, in the hope he should be enabled to manage the affair by letter.

He left Berlin on the 3d of December, and arrived in Hanover, where he had new difficulties to encounter, on the 6th. The Elector being presumptive heir to the British crown, great court was paid to him by both parties in England, and each accused

the other of being lukewarm in his cause. The elector allied himself, as it were, more particularly to the whigs, and the electress (Sophia) to the tories. The duke, however, made them fully assured that the queen would adhere firmly to their interest in maintaining the succession to the crown in their family, and with this the elector gave him assurances of his being fully satisfied; to confirm him in a belief of which, he presented him with a calash and six horses. "The day after I came here," said Marlborough in a letter to Godolphin, "I had a very long conversation with the elector, who did not want many arguments to convince him that his and the queen's interests were the same. He has commanded me to assure her majesty that he will never have any thoughts but what may be agreeable to hers."

Satisfied with his exertions in Hanover, he repaired to the Hague, where, having settled several important matters with the States-general, particularly the taking 10,000 men more into the pay of England and Holland, to reinforce Prince Eugene's army in Italy, the duke repaired to Brill, where, embarking for England in company of several yachts, under convoy of a squadron of the queen's ships, he arrived in London on the 30th, and went immediately to St. James's, where he arrived just as the clock struck eleven at night.

During his absence a multitude of libels had been uttered and published against him. It is, at this distance of time, by no means necessary to state what they were, nor who their authors were;* and it

* The chief libellers were Dean Swift and Mrs. Manley, author of the *New Atlantis*, a work in which, under the guise of a fable, many noble persons were calumniated in a very scandalous manner. It was dedicated to the Duke of Beaufort.

would, perhaps, have been more dignified had the duke himself been equally indifferent to them. But that he was not, his private letters testify ; and so does also a passage in the answer he gave to the deputation of the House of Commons, which waited upon him to give him thanks for the services he had performed in the last campaign, and also for his "prudent" negotiations with her majesty's allies. "I am so sensible of the honour which is done me by this message," answered his grace, "that I cannot have the least concern at the reflections of any private malice, while I have the satisfaction of finding my faithful endeavours to serve the queen and the kingdom so favourably accepted by the House of Commons."

The state of parties at this time may be, in no slight degree, imagined from a passage in Coxe's memoirs of this celebrated character. "The high Tories had wholly lost their political consequence, the moderate of the party cordially joined in supporting the measures of government, while the Whigs seemed to possess the favour of the queen, the friendship of Godolphin, and the confidence of the nation." In consequence of this change on the part of the queen, and other satisfactory reasons, Marlborough consented to overcome his political bias, and to continue with those whom Godolphin esteemed worthy his confidence. Both, therefore, seized on so favourable an opportunity of effecting a reconciliation between the moderate Tories and their new adherents ; and so well did all things agree with this, that even Smollett becomes eloquent in his description of the new era which ensued. "The duke of Marlborough was in such credit with the people, that when he proposed a loan of 500,000 pounds to the emperor, upon a branch of his revenue

in Silesia, the money was advanced immediately by the merchants of London. The kingdom was blessed with plenty, the queen was universally beloved, the people, in general, were zealous for the prosecution of the war, the forces were well paid, the treasury was punctual, and though a great quantity of gold was exported for the maintenance of the war, the paper currency supplied the deficiency so well, that no murmurs were heard, and the public credit flourished both at home and abroad."

The session of Parliament having closed, and the time arrived when it became necessary for Marlborough to return to the Continent and open the campaign, he went on board the *Peregrine* galley on the 6th of April, and arrived at the Hague on the 15th, when he had a conference with the States-general on the measures necessary to be taken. Before we proceed farther, however, it will be a grateful service to state, from Mr. Coxe, the happy personal condition in which the duke had left England. "Marlborough quitted England with the highest gratification he had ever yet experienced. The collision of political sentiments between the queen and the duchess had subsided; the majority of the parliament and nation appeared to be inspired with his own ardour for the prosecution of the war; Godolphin and the Whigs were, for the first time, in unison; his immediate dependants and friends had banished their fears and jealousies; and all parties looked up to him as the moderator of their feuds, and the depository of their confidence, who had equally subdued the factious at home and vanquished the enemy abroad."

It was the emperor's desire, that the duke should resume his plan of attacking France on the side of

the Moselle ; but Marlborough had learned by experience how little he could rely on the promises of the imperial court, or the co-operation of the German princes. He knew also how impossible it was to conciliate the Prince of Baden. His resolution was, therefore, to decline the offers of the emperor, and to make an effort in Italy, where he intended to join Prince Eugene. This project raised the hopes of the Duke of Savoy to the highest pitch. "Count Maffei," said his highness in a letter to Marlborough, "has communicated to me the very kind manner in which you interest yourself in the unfortunate situation of my affairs, and of your plan to give the most fatal blow to France. It is, in truth, worthy of you. To you is reserved the glory of rescuing Europe from slavery, and of carrying to the greatest possible height the arms of the queen, by rendering them triumphant even in Italy, which, as well as Germany, will owe her liberty to you. I entreat you, therefore, to give to that enterprise all the attention which it deserves, accelerating your speedy arrival, in which I take a double interest ; for I am expecting the commencement of this siege, for which the enemy will employ 60 battalions, as many squadrons, and 110 pieces of artillery, with a considerable number of mortars. The imperialists have experienced a check in the Bressano, and will not soon be in readiness to act ; consequently, you will soon see that the smallest time is precious, and how much it imports the confederates to save, with this capital, the remnant of my troops ; for you cannot fail of reflecting that, should this capital be lost, the enemy will have it in their power to turn all their force against Prince Eugene, and compel him to abandon Italy."

This project, however, Marlborough found impos-

sible to carry into action. Godolphin acquiesced ; but the German princes and the King of Denmark, whose troops were to be employed in the undertaking, objected. So also did the King of Prussia, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Elector of Hanover. The Dutch, too, entertained a great repugnance to it ; and at the moment that he was concerting with Overkirk the means of maintaining defensive measures in the Netherlands during his absence, disastrous news arrived from the Upper Rhine, which wholly changed the course of his plans. Villars had suddenly taken the field, forced the German lines, driven the margrave back to the Lauter, and was making preparations to overrun the Palatinate.

When the Dutch heard this they became so alarmed, that, looking on Marlborough's presence as their only protection, they offered to relieve him from the shackles they had all along loaded him with, by secretly giving him the choice of the field-deputies, or by previously instructing them to conform implicitly to his orders. With this concession Marlborough was well pleased ; and seeing the impossibility, under the present circumstances, of carrying his Italian expedition into effect, he consented to retain his command in the Netherlands.

Though Godolphin had acceded to Marlborough's plan, the dropping of it was far from being unpleasant to him. "I now take it for granted, there's an end of the project of Italy," wrote his lordship to the duke ; "and this, I must own, does not give me so much uneasiness as it does you. For besides, that I could never swallow so well the thoughts of your being so far out of our reach, and for so long a time, I think it may be almost as well for the allies to have the balance kept up in Italy, as to drive the French

quite out of it, which would enable them to contract their expenses, and more expose us on this side to their force."

Marlborough's private letters at this juncture show him to very great advantage. "You will see," said he in a letter to the duchess, "by my letters to Lord Treasurer that, in all likelihood, I shall make the whole campaign in this country, and, consequently, not such a one as will please me. But as I infinitely value your esteem, for without that you cannot love me, let me say for myself, that there is some credit in doing rather what is good for the public than in preferring our own private satisfaction and interest; for my being here in a condition of doing nothing that shall make a noise, has made me able to send ten thousand men to Italy, and to leave nineteen thousand more on the Rhine, till the Marshal de Marsin shall bring his detachment to this country."

To Godolphin he wrote—"God knows, I go with a heavy heart, for I have no prospect of doing anything considerable unless the French would do what I am very confident they will not; unless the Marshal de Marsin should return, as is reported, with thirty battalions and forty squadrons; for that would give them such a superiority as might tempt them to march out of their lines; which if they do, I will most certainly attack them; not doubting, with the blessing of God, to beat them."

In that hope he was soon gratified. Namur was considered so highly important a post, that Villeroy received positive orders even to risk a battle for the safety of it; a conflict was, therefore, anticipated on both sides; and to provoke the French the better to it, Marlborough made a movement upon Namur; being induced the more eagerly to do it by having

established a correspondence with an inhabitant of that town, named Pasquier, through whose agency he hoped to surprise the town. The French made a great effort; they withdrew forces from the Rhine, and reinforced Villeroy and the elector with the best troops of France, so as to out-number the allies by 2,000 men: Marlborough having only 60,000 under his command, and the French general 62,000.

The English troops had no sooner approached the intended point of junction, than Villeroy and the Elector of Bavaria, with their united forces, passed the Dyle. Marlborough was greatly rejoiced at the disposition thus manifested by the enemy to meet him in the open field. "The French knowing that it is not in our power, in less than three weeks, to have the Hanoverians or Hessians from the Rhine, they have taken the resolution of drawing as many of their troops out of their garrisons as possible, and marched yesterday out of their lines, and are now encamped at Tirlemont. The English join the armies this day, and the Danes two days hence. With my humble duty, assure her majesty that, with all my heart and soul, I pray to God that I may be able to send her good news, so that your faithful friend and servant might have some quiet before he dies." This was written to Godolphin.

The positions of the two armies were in the neighbourhood of Ramillies, and near that village a battle, that will be ever memorable, was fought. Before we give any account of that battle, however, we must revert to a curious circumstance, viz., that it was fought on the very spot at which Marlborough had unsuccessfully recommended the Dutch to force the French lines three years before. The duke's words were—"If we attempt their lines, should they pre-

tend to defend them, we may, with the blessing of the Almighty, hope to gain a complete victory, the consequences of which may be of more importance than can be foreseen; and should they think best to retire, there is ground to hope we might push forward very successfully, and draw mighty advantages from it." In answer to this the Dutch deputies and generals replied, "Supposing the lines forced, what advantage will come of it? and shall we be able to march to Tirlemont and Louvain? What gives ground for apprehension that we shall not, is, that the enemy, a little within their lines, have posts to retire to, that are more defensible than their lines; for instance, that of Ramillies, where their right, being extended to the Mehaigne, near Taveirs, and their left towards Ramillies and Autrezlise, they will have a narrow aperture of but 1,200 paces to defend." Upon this very spot were the enemy encountered and conquered at the time of which we are now speaking.

The army was in motion early in the morning; but violent rain having fallen in the night, the advance of the infantry was greatly retarded; at the same time, the duke, accompanied by the Dutch deputies and generals, was informed that the enemy were moving towards the position of Mont St. André and the Mehaigne, on the very ground the confederates had hoped to occupy. There was a deep fog; the air, however, cleared, and when it did so, the two armies appeared in sight of each other, and soon after engaged, with a result, which at once decided the fate of the Netherlands, as that of Blenheim had decided that of Bavaria.

The battle was most violently contested, and the victory is universally allowed to have been owing

to the skilful dispositions of the duke; "to his presence and activity in every quarter where danger most threatened, or disaster had taken place," says Mr. Coxe, "and to the firmness and perseverance of the Dutch infantry and cavalry, who bore the brunt of the first attack. The German infantry also sustained their national character in the attack of Ramillies; and the horse of the right, who came late into action, are entitled to the merit of having rendered the victory decisive and complete."

The enemy lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 13,000 men, and 2,000 deserted from them after the battle. The confederates had 1066 killed, and 2,567 wounded. On the part of the French fell many officers of distinction, amongst whom were the princes of Soubise and Rohan, and a son of Marshal Tallard; amongst the wounded, the Marquis de Bar, and Mons. de Montmorency, nephew to the Duke of Luxemburg. On that of the allies 82 officers were killed, and 283 wounded, but none of distinction except the Prince of Hesse Cassel and five colonels. The enemy lost also above 120 colours, and 50 pieces of cannon. The battle was fought on a Sunday, viz., May 23, 1706.

The joy in Holland at this victory was very great. "We congratulate with your excellency," said the Dutch government, "for the happy success of this great and glorious action; a success principally owing, after the Divine benediction, to your conduct and valour, which will render your glory immortal. It is a particular satisfaction we receive from the testimony, which you have given of the courage and bravery of our troops; for though we never doubted but they would follow the steps of so great a captain as your excellency is, yet this testimony is extremely advantageous to them and accept-

able to us. We will not forget the services, which they have performed on this great occasion. We pray God to bless, more and more, all your designs and enterprises; and since your glory, after the battles of Ramillies, Schelhemberg, and Hochstadt, can receive no addition by the greatness of victories, we wish it may by the number. We desire you to believe that the esteem, we have for your excellency's person and rare merit, cannot be greater."

We must now refer to two circumstances that occurred in the battle. The duke was very often in great peril; one instance of which may be given in his having been recognized by the French dragoons, while rallying some broken horse. They attempted to close round him, when, in leaping a ditch to disengage himself, he was thrown. One of his equerries (Colonel Bingfield) immediately alighted to give him his horse, when, as he was holding the stirrup, his head was struck off by a cannon-ball.

The other circumstance relates to the Dutch general, Overkirk, who acted with great skill and courage during the whole action; and to whom the success of the first and principal attack was owing. He fought at the head of his troops till the victory was entirely won, and continued on horseback till one in the morning, when he narrowly escaped falling a sacrifice to the treachery of a Bavarian captain of horse, whom he had taken prisoner in the early part of the day. To this man he had returned his sword. "You are a gentleman," said he, "and may keep it." Notwithstanding this generosity, the villain attempted to take an opportunity of stabbing his benefactor in the back; and had certainly perpetrated the horrid and disgraceful deed had not the Dutch general's groom rode up and shot him dead on the spot.

We must here give place to a passage from Mr. Coxe, since it places the duke on a higher pedestal than even the victory itself. It ought, on no account, to be omitted or curtailed. "The humanity displayed by the victorious general towards his prisoners deserves to be recorded for the applause of an impartial posterity. The sick and wounded were lodged in hospitals, and treated with the same care and attention as the troops of the allies. The prisoners were conveyed to Holland with the sympathy due to their misfortune, and supplied with all the comforts which their situation required. To the beneficent example which Marlborough displayed on this, as on other occasions, we are indebted for the refined tenderness which has since taken place in the intercourse of hostile armies." "This virtue," Mr. Coxe goes on to observe, "extorted the admiration even of the enemy; and a French writer pays a just eulogium to our great commander for a quality which could not be said to distinguish the chiefs of his own and preceding ages. 'Marlborough always showed the greatest attention to his prisoners, and set the example of that humanity which has since soothed the horrors and calamities of war.'"

The manner, in which the duke wrote at this time to the duchess, is exceedingly beautiful. "I did not tell my dearest soul, in my last, the design I had of engaging the enemy, if possible, to a battle, fearing the concern she had for me might make her uneasy; but I can now give her the satisfaction of letting her know that, on Sunday last, we fought, and that God Almighty has been pleased to give us a victory. I must leave the particulars to the bearer, Colonel Richards; for having been on horseback all Sunday, and, after the battle, marching all night, my head

aches to that degree that it is very uneasy to me to write. Poor Bingfield, holding my stirrup for me, and helping me on horseback, was killed. I am told that he leaves his wife and mother in a poor condition. I can't write to any of my children; so that you will let them know I am well, and that I desire they will thank God for preserving me. And pray give my duty to the queen, and let her know the truth of my heart, and that the greatest pleasure I have in this success is, that it may be a great service to her affairs; for I am sincerely sensible of all her goodness to me and mine. Pray, believe me, when I assure you that I love you more than I can express."

When the news of this victory arrived in England it gave the most lively satisfaction and pleasure. The ministers wrote to him, in their joy, and the queen, with her usual condescension and graceful friendship. "I want words," said her majesty, "to express my true sense of the great service you have done to your country." "I must repeat my earnest request that you would be careful of yourself." A proclamation was issued for a thanksgiving, and the queen returned thanks at St. Paul's for so glorious a victory, as she had twice done before; addresses poured in from every quarter of the kingdom, and "the name of the undaunted and renowned general," we are told, "was mingled with that of his royal mistress in shouts of national exultation."

The effects of this battle were very great; and to what a condition it reduced the Elector of Bavaria may be seen by what that prince wrote to his majesty, the King of France, after the battle.

"SIR,—If the events of the battle of Ramillies had answered the hopes we expected from it, it would not have been the loss, but the gain of a battle that I should have

acquainted your majesty with. There is no fault to be imputed to the generals who have commanded, nor the troops who have fought, but to a fatality without example. I have a heart so full of this misfortune, that I cannot express to your majesty the burden I labour under. The loss, sir, of the battle of Ramillies, which has been as fatal as that of Hochstadt, convinces me that it is not the number of an army, nor the advantageous situation of a camp, nor the courage of soldiers, that give the victory, but God alone. When I seriously consider all that has passed in this great action, (where your majesty's household and my cuirassiers broke, no less than three times, the enemy's left,) I must confess I do not comprehend the business of war. The only consolation that remains, sir, in my misfortunes, is, that I have done nothing contrary to your orders, which Marshal Villeroy cannot but acknowledge, as well as all the officers of the army, who have seen me expose myself as much as the meanest soldier; and if the peril of my life would have purchased a victory, it would assuredly not have been my fault that your majesty's arms had not been triumphant. But the evil has befallen us, and what remains is to seek the means of remedying it. I expect, in all this chaos of confusion, your majesty's orders."

The elector and Villeroy, having escaped the perils of the field, fled to Louvain; where, holding a council by torchlight in the market-place, they resolved to abandon, not only the open country, but the fortified towns, and to retreat behind the canal at Brussels. A general revolution also followed in the Low Countries; for, as the allies were favoured with a continued chain of conquests, the inhabitants of those provinces, weary of French influence and government, received the confederate generals everywhere as their deliverers, since they had redeemed them from slavery, and recovered for them their ancient liberties.

The French having abandoned Louvain, the duke

lost no time in pursuing them. Alost, Lierre, Ghent, Bruges, and Damme, were taken possession of; and the enemy became so disheartened that, though the English had no cannon to besiege it, they surrendered Oudenarde, a place so strong, that even William, with an army of 60,000 men, had not been able to take it.

Louvain and Mechlin were now open to the conqueror; and the governor and magistrates of Brussels, with the States of Brabant, sent deputations, expressive of satisfaction that they had been delivered from the oppression of the French, and a declaration of their readiness to recognise Charles, and a resolution to assist in maintaining his right to the kingdom of Spain and all its dependencies. He was invited to Brussels, and in that city the archduke was proclaimed king under the name of Charles the Third. The effects, indeed, of this battle were so great that Marlborough wrote to Godolphin, that he thought they would be greater than those, that had ensued from the battle of Blenheim; "for we have the whole summer before us," said he, "and with the blessing of God, I will make the most of it. For as we had no council of war before this battle, so I hope to have none this whole campaign; and I think we may make such a campaign as may give the queen the glory of making an honourable and safe peace; for the blessing of God is certainly with us."

The French had not only been beaten, but thrown into a panic. They had begun the engagement in the hope and full confidence of victory, from a knowledge that they were superior in numbers; and at the moment when that confidence was gone, a panic came over them, when, to use the duke's own expression, he "pressed the enemy while confusion remained among them," and to an effect that had not

often been done before. "We have done in four days," said he in another letter, "what we should have thought ourselves happy if we could have been sure of it in four years." The Dutch deputies related in their letter to the States, "The confusion the enemy were in after the battle cannot be described, insomuch that the elector, and several other French Generals, could not refrain from tears." "I have appointed next Sunday," said Marlborough in a letter to the duchess, "for the army to return thanks to God for the protection he has been pleased to give us. For on this occasion it has been very visible; for the French had not only greater numbers than we, but also their best troops. I hope the queen will appoint a speedy thanksgiving at St. Paul's; for the goodness of God is so great, that if he had suffered us to have been beaten, the liberties of all the allies had been lost."

On the first of June a public thanksgiving was celebrated; on the next day the duke made his public entry into Ghent; and on the 4th, having traversed the Scheldt, and accepted the surrender of Oudenard, he pitched his camp between Arsele and Caneghem; Antwerp having surrendered, after a secret negotiation, without the firing of a single gun. The duke, in order to arrange with the States for the remainder of the campaign, made a journey to the Hague. Having succeeded in this, he returned to the camp at Arsele, and immediately after invested Ostend. He summoned the city to surrender, but the governor sent for answer, that he hoped the duke would excuse him "if he defended the place, as became him, till farther orders."

The city was, indeed, difficult to command, for its environs were intersected with dikes, canals, and

water courses, which afforded innumerable means of resistance; and the defence, moreover, could be increased by inundation. The duke, nevertheless, succeeded in taking it; and we may, in no small degree, recognise the difficulty of doing so when we remember that, a century before, it was not reduced by Spinola, the first warrior of his age, till after a three years' siege, and a consumption of four-score thousand men. It cost Marlborough only 500.

It ought to have been remarked that, before the battle of Ramillies, the duke had some cause to complain of the conduct of the court of Denmark, which, either in favour to France or on account of an ill-timed caution on a matter of arrears, had like to have terminated the course of his glory, and prevented the battle and victory which ensued, or might have even exposed the confederate army to the greatest hazard. The Danish troops, however, behaved so well in the engagement, that Marlborough thought proper to acknowledge it in a very especial manner; and this he did in a letter to the King of Denmark, wherein he said:—

“ From the Camp at Grimberg, May, 29, 1706.

“ After the troops have had a little refreshment, we shall advance again towards the enemy, without giving them time to recover themselves, relying entirely on the blessing of Heaven and the bravery of the troops, particularly those of your majesty, who distinguished themselves so eminently, and acquired so much glory in the battle, that I cannot excuse myself from writing this second letter to your majesty to do justice to the Duke of Wirtemberg, who that day gave shining proofs of his capacity and valour, as also the other generals, officers, and soldiers of your majesty's troops under his command, who well deserve all the praises I can give them, and if I might presume to say it, all the regard your majesty can

show for such brave men. I have not been wanting to do them this justice to the queen and his royal highness, and I hope your majesty will excuse the liberty I take in recommending them to your favour."

Menin was next attacked. This town was so strong that many thought that to attempt its capture was too bold an undertaking; for, after the peace of Nimeguen, the old fortifications had been replaced by works constituted on Vauban's best and most approved system; it was, in fact, considered his master-piece. It was, besides, strongly garrisoned, and the duke de Vendome was sent to recollect the scattered forces, and make an effort for saving it. Marlborough, nevertheless, undertook to besiege it, though he was, for some time, detained by the tardiness of the Dutch in making preparations. After several attacks it surrendered; but it was after a great loss on the part of the allies, 3,000 being killed and wounded; and 1,500 on the part of the garrison. Fifty pieces of brass cannon, and forty of iron, were taken; ammunition in great abundance; 300,000 lbs. of powder, four-and-twenty colours, and one standard; against which the allies employed six-and-forty heavy cannon, eighteen mortars, and several hundred cohorn mortars. The capitulation was signed at eleven at night, and the next morning the allies took possession. Marlborough says, however, that the garrison might have held out, at least, five days longer; but they were led to give up the place sooner than they ought to have done, from the fear of being made prisoners of war.

The next operation was directed against Dendermond. Brigadier Cadogan wrote to the duke, that the town having been set on fire in several places by the bombs he had employed against it, he had written

a letter to the governor, the Marquis Delvalle, to acquaint him that his garrison was to expect no other conditions than to remain prisoners of war if they obstinately persisted in any longer maintaining the place. On receiving this letter, the marquis desired a cessation of arms for four-and-twenty hours, to enable him to call a council. The time having expired, the governor sent for answer, that, having called a council of war, it had been resolved that, since the town had a strong garrison, and was otherwise well provided for a good defence, it was their duty to hold out to the last.

General Churchill, the duke's brother, was hereupon charged with the siege; it having been already blockaded ever since the battle of Ramillies. The town is situated twelve miles east of Ghent, fourteen south-west of Antwerp, and seventeen north-west of Brussels. An attack upon it was made (Sept. 4, 1706) at about ten in the morning, and after some time spent in parleys, the garrison surrendered. "This," says Marlborough, "was more than reasonable; but I saw them in a consternation. That place could never have been taken but by the hand of God, which gave us seven weeks without any rain." In a letter to the States, also, he makes a similar observation: "I heartily congratulate your high mightinesses upon this happy event, in which the hand of God has visibly appeared; it having been observed that, for several years past, there has not been in this country so favourable a season for such an enterprise." "The rain," says he also in a letter to Godolphin, "began the next day after we had possession, and continued till this evening." The country round may be amply understood by what the duke afterwards wrote: "I believe the King of

France will be a good deal surprised when he shall hear that the garrison has been obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war ; for upon his being told that preparations were making for the siege of Dendermond, he replied, ‘ They must have an army of ducks to take it.’ ”

After the fall of Dendermond, Marlborough invested Ath, which having taken, he would have marched to Mons ; but in this he was disappointed by the reluctance of the Dutch, notwithstanding its reduction was earnestly recommended. “ We shall have it much cheaper this year than the next,” said his grace, “ because if we wait till then, they will have time to recruit their army.”

We have now leisure to return to another subject. When Marlborough had conquered the Netherlands by arms, he did not subdue, at the same time, all the difficulties which he had to encounter ; for the very success raised new ones. A quarrel arose between the emperor and the Dutch in regard to which party the government should fall. Both claimed it. Thus situated, the emperor offered it to the acceptance of the Duke of Marlborough ; and this he did in a transport of joy, at having, by a curious coincidence, received some very happy and important news from Spain on the very day that brought intelligence of the victory of Ramillies. The patent, creating Marlborough governor of the Netherlands, was immediately transmitted with a letter, written in Latin, by the emperor’s own hand, stating that the government of the Belgic provinces could not be better confided than to the hand which had recovered them. In these sentiments the King of Spain concurred.

No arrangement could have been of such advantage to the confederate cause as this ; and, therefore,

Marlborough immediately imparted the news to the treasurer for the decision of the queen and council. In respect to the Dutch he made it a matter of concealment, until he should hear the queen's answer.

The Queen, Lord Godolphin, Lord Somers, Lord Sunderland, and the Whig leaders, were unanimous in their satisfaction at this proposal and appointment. "We think it is like to keep everything in the Netherlands," said Lord Godolphin in reply, "upon a right foot; at least, during the operations of this summer. We think there is no reason for the Dutch not to like it as well as we do; and all conclude with myself that it is one of the rightest thoughts, that ever came from the emperor's council."

Godolphin, however, in this reckoned without his host. The Dutch raised a violent opposition to it. "While the confederates," says Mr. Coxe, "were employed in recovering the Low Countries, their union was, in general, cordial and sincere; but no sooner had the victory at Ramillies secured their object, than national interest began to operate." The Dutch began to think how they could strengthen themselves at the expense of their neighbours. "Such is their temper," said Marlborough, "that when they have misfortunes, they are desirous of peace upon any terms; and when we are blessed by God with success, they are for turning it to their own advantage, without any consideration how it may be liked by their friends and allies. As to myself, I thank God and the queen, I have no need nor desire of being richer; but have a very great ambition of doing everything that can be for the public good."

Animated with this feeling, he declined the proffered grant upon the consideration, that the advantage he might gain by such an elevation, with £60,000

a-year, would be very poor and insignificant in comparison of the fatal consequences, that might be, should it cause a jealousy between the two nations. No sooner, therefore, had he received the sanction of the queen to his acceptance of this post, than he wrote at once to the States his decided resolution not to accept the appointment. This forbearance, however, by no means awakened the Dutch to a sense of their ingratitude and presumption; for, so far from affecting any wish to share with England in the advantage gained by the late victories, they even showed a disposition to appropriate the whole government of the Netherlands to themselves. This spirit, however, Marlborough and the government at home so successfully contended against, that, at their instance, a provisional government was proposed and established; by which it was agreed that the administration of the Low Countries should be shared by the two maritime powers; though, to satisfy the inhabitants, it was to be conducted in the name, and under the authority, of Charles the Third. That is, it was agreed, between the duke and the deputies of the States-General, that the administration should be given to a council of state, consisting of natural-born subjects of the Spanish provinces, who should be enjoined to take an oath of fidelity to the King of Spain, in the presence of the duke, the deputies, and the States.

This arrangement, however, was not very agreeable to the Court of Vienna. They thought it was throwing too much power into the hands of the Dutch. The King of Spain, too, was greatly dissatisfied. How this matter was settled the reader will find afterwards. It may, however, here be repeated, that the French king was much better served

by his enemies in their own cabinets than by his armies in the field.

Having relinquished all further operations, the season being too far advanced to undertake any serious matter, Marlborough left the command of the army to Overkirk, and departed for Brussels, for the purpose of regulating the government of the conquered provinces, where he was received with all the honours that, in former years, had been usually paid to the dukes of Burgundy. The streets through which he passed were filled with a great concourse of the nobility and gentry of both sexes, and lined with the burgesses under arms. The cannon fired from the ramparts, the populace uttered loud acclamations, and gave a thousand demonstrations of joy. His grace, in the mean time, was received at the Anderlech-port by the burgo-master and magistrates, who there presented him with the keys of honour, and expressed their gratitude to the queen and the English nation; closing with a well-conceived compliment to his grace, whom they styled the glorious instrument of their deliverance.

The duke alighted at the Palace of Orange; and, a few days after, the magistrates waited on him again, and presented him with "the wine of honour;" which was brought in a tun, gilded and painted with his grace's own arms, upon a carriage, with streamers, drawn by six horses, preceded by trumpets and kettle-drums; attended by a cavalcade of young students on horseback, finely clothed, with devices in their hands in honour of his grace, and in particular, representing the great actions performed in this campaign.

Having received these and other marks of honour, the duke, on the 31st of October, returned to the

army, where he gave directions for its going into winter quarters; the English at Ghent, the Danes at Bruges, the Prussians along the Demer, and between the Meuse and the Rhine. Overkirk was left commandant in the Netherlands; the Count de Tilly was sent to Louvain; Talisch to Meehlin; the government of Brussels being intrusted to General Churchill. Having arranged all this, the duke himself embarked on board one of the yachts belonging to the admiralty of the Meuse, and in a few hours arrived at Rotterdam, whence he went immediately to the Hague, in order to arrange the operations for the ensuing campaign, as well as to take a part in the negociations, which had now been opened between the court of France and the Dutch government.

We must now, for a moment, turn our eyes towards Italy and Spain. Marlborough had been ever active in procuring men and money for Prince Eugene. With these supplies that celebrated person, after long endeavours, became enabled to inflict on France one of the greatest defeats it had ever sustained in Italy. Anxious to compensate for the disasters in the Netherlands, and also in Spain, Louis had redoubled his efforts in that country. His hope was to complete the ruin of the Duke of Saxony, whose capital had become the last rampart of the allies in that country. An engagement, therefore, took place between Prince Eugene and the French general, Marsin, which terminated in carrying relief to Turin, at a moment when breaches had been made in the ramparts, and the garrison reduced to the last charge of powder. Marsin himself was made prisoner, and soon after died of the wounds he received; 9,000 men were killed, wounded, or taken; and that army which had, for so long a period, given laws to Italy,

was driven in confusion and disgrace towards the borders of Dauphiné.*

When Marlborough heard of this victory, which he did by a letter from Prince Eugene himself, written on the evening after the battle, he was affected with great joy. "It is impossible," said he in a letter to the duchess, "for me to express the joy it has given me; for I not only esteem, but I really love that prince." "This glorious action," he goes on to say; "must bring France so low, that if our friends can be persuaded to carry on the war one year longer with vigour, we could not fail, with the blessing of God, to have such a peace as would give us quiet in our days."

This splendid victory, however, had, by no means, the commanding result that Marlborough hoped from it. For no sooner had it been gained, than all the jealousies that had existed between the emperor and the Duke of Savoy, and which had only been suspended during the respective periods of adversity,

* We are told that an infinite number of blunders were committed on this day. Ten thousand men were actually engaged between the Dora and Stura, but when these were routed there were yet 70,000 beyond the Dora, who might have crossed that river while the post of Lucenta was held, and have renewed the combat. Such, however, was the consternation of the French, that these 70,000 unbroken troops fled before less than half their number. One of their officers, in a letter to a friend, expressed himself thus:—"I am sorry to tell you that I no longer know our men. They are so changed from what they were at the battles of Senef, Montcassel, and Landen, that one can hardly think them to be of the same nation. I will not give you a detail of the disorder in which they fought at Turin, and of the confusion which prevailed among us when we turned our backs on an army that, even after the battle, was much inferior to our own. I will draw a curtain over this disagreeable scene; but I cannot help telling you that our troops hardly think themselves safe here, though divided from the enemy by the Alps."

broke out afresh ; and the emperor, more especially, began, from that moment, to pursue his own purposes, to the neglect and injury of the whole confederate cause.

In Spain, too, a series of successes was followed by a greater misconduct. The campaign in that country had been brilliant. The close of it, however, was disastrous in the extreme. The troops, we are told, committed every kind of excess, the generals every kind of blunder, and for want of a mind like that of Marlborough or Eugene, to control its jarring elements, every movement was an error ; all being the result of different heads, actuated by discordant interests. Marlborough was especially chagrined at the conduct of Lord Peterborough in that country. The causes are amply stated by Mr. Coxe :—" By these fatal reverses Marlborough was not only mortified and disappointed, but placed in a predicament equally critical and unexpected. Admiring the chivalrous spirit, fascinating manners, and courtly address of Peterborough, he had recommended him to the command, and bestowed unqualified praise on his splendid achievements. He was, therefore, deeply chagrined to find, that success had rendered him impatient of control, ambitious of pre-eminence, and no less vain and visionary in his designs than petulant in his manners, and unaccommodating in his disposition. He had, also, not only treated with contempt and levity the young monarch, under whom he was commissioned to act, and whom he was interested to conciliate, but, from pique and revenge, he was suspected of having so far swerved from his duty as to make private overtures, proposing to assist in raising the Duke of Savoy to the Spanish throne." In this displeasure Lord Godol-

phin seems to have joined ; for he says in a letter to the duke :—" He is both useless and grievous where he is, and is preparing to be as troublesome here, whenever he is called home." The perplexity of the duke, however, did not merely arise from the conduct, however eccentric and perverse, of Peterborough alone ; for the condition and situation of the army, and the disputes and rivalry of the generals and the court of Charles, daily afforded new causes of disquietude.

From this digression we must now return to the affairs with which the duke was more particularly concerned. On arriving at the Hague he found that the French were endeavouring to amuse the Dutch by offers of peace. With the Dutch the French had always greater hopes than with any other of the allies ; for they knew they had a party in the States always on the watch to serve them ; and the intrigues of these men are rightly stated to have given Marlborough more uneasiness than any circumstance of actual warfare. In regard to the Dutch, as a people, he mentions this characteristic :—" The more complaisance is shown to them, and the more we give way to them, it is both their nature and their practice to be the more assuming." The duke, having received the compliments of the States, had several conferences with the deputies, in which, among other things, it was agreed, that the steps France had made towards a peace should be communicated to the allies, in order to remove all suspicion of clandestine negotiations, as well as to encourage the several members of the alliance to meet the next campaign, not only with renewed, but even with redoubled vigour.

The ministers of the allies residing at the Hague

were invited to a general conference. At this conference the States owned that France had formerly, by some private persons, made general intimations of their willingness to treat of peace ; and that last winter the Marquis d'Alegre had presented to the States a formal memorial on the same subject, the substance of which they would read. Having done this, they stated that they had given no ear to those advances ; therefore they had not communicated them to the allies, holding them not worthy of that notice. In October last, however, they went on to say, a letter had been written by the Elector of Bavaria to the Duke of Marlborough, and another to the States, to which answers had been respectively returned by those to whom they they had been written. These were expressive of a desire, the French king had, for a peace.

Having read these letters, with their answers, the deputies made a declaration to the assembled ministers, to the effect, that their high mightinesses had resolved firmly to observe their alliances in every part ; that a peace would be extremely agreeable to them, and, without doubt, to the high allies, if it could be likely that it would be firm and lasting. But that the conferences proposed, without a more particular declaration of the intentions of France, and without a probable certainty or appearance of good success, did not seem to their high mightinesses to be a proper means for attaining it ; but much rather a means, by such conferences about a peace, to divert the thoughts of war and lull the allies asleep.

This disclosure and declaration of the deputies gave to the allies great satisfaction. It was impossible not to perceive that the object of the French king was, in the first instance, to detach the Dutch from the

allies ; and, if that could not be done, to lull the whole confederacy into inactivity, in the second. It is proper, however, to furnish the reader with the letter Marlborough wrote in answer to that he received from the Elector of Bavaria, because it gives a great insight into the views, which actuated the allies in general at this particular time.

“ November 20, 1706.”

“SIR,—Having communicated to the queen, my mistress, what your electoral highness did me the honour to write me in your letter of the 21st of last month, of the intentions of the most Christian king, to endeavour to re-establish the tranquillity of Europe, by conferences to be held for that purpose, between deputies on both sides, her majesty has commanded me to answer your electoral highness, that, as she has received with pleasure this notice of the king's inclination to agree to the making of a solemn and a lasting peace with the allies, being the sole end that obliged her majesty to continue this war till now, so she will be very glad to conclude it, in concert with all her allies, on such conditions as may secure them from all apprehensions of being forced to take up arms again after a short interval, as has so lately happened. Her majesty is also willing I should declare, that she is ready to enter, jointly with all the high allies, into just and necessary measures for attaining to such a peace ; her majesty being resolved not to enter upon any negociation without the participation of her said allies. But the way of conference, as proposed, without more particular declarations, on the part of his most Christian majesty, does not seem to her to be proper for obtaining a truly solid and lasting peace. The States-General are of the same opinion ; wherefore, your electoral highness will rightly judge that other more solid means must be thought on to obtain so great an end ; to which her majesty will contribute with all the sincerity that can be wished, having nothing so much at heart as the relief of her subjects and the tranquillity of Europe. Your electoral highness will always do

me the justice to be persuaded of the respect with which I have the honour to be, &c."

There were many decisive and important reasons why the French should desire a peace. They had lost the battle of Ramillies, and great consequences had attended it; the siege of Barcelona had been raised, and a fatal defeat had entirely changed the aspect of affairs in Italy. These, and a straitened treasury, had thrown the whole of France into a state of perplexity and consternation. When Louis's propositions failed, therefore, several French writers, and some persons even in Holland and England too, did not hesitate to throw the entire odium on the pensionary Heinsius, Prince Eugene, and the Duke of Marlborough. "It is no wonder," said they, "that the advances made by France, however sincere, had no effect. Why should this be? Because the three principal powers, on whom this accommodation depended, were governed by three persons whose interest it was to continue the war; that is, Prince Eugene, the Duke of Marlborough, and Pensionary Heinsius." Though these accusations were often repeated, and believed by thousands, they were never thought worthy of a reply by either of the parties accused.

The duke now prepared to return to England. Before he quitted the Hague, however, he had the satisfaction of endeavouring to allay, though not settle, a dispute, which had arisen in regard to the Bishop of Munster, between the emperor and the States, and also the subject of barrier. In regard to the first, the parties were still too much at variance to permit a sound reconciliation; and in respect to the second, the duke, finding it too delicate a matter for immediate settlement, left it to the negotiation of

a future period. Sailing, therefore, from the Meuse on the 26th of November, he arrived at Margate on the following day.

We must now go back, and enter a little into the intrigues, set on foot while Marlborough was yet on the continent, relative to the appointment of Lord Sunderland to the secretaryship of state, in the room of Sir Charles Hedges. The fact was, that while Marlborough was acting in the most faithful and honourable manner towards the queen, the country, and his friends, the more intemperate part of the Whigs suspected that not only he, but even Godolphin, were not dealing in an honourable manner. Lord Sunderland, having conducted himself in a very satisfactory manner during his embassy to Vienna, expected on his return to be immediately admitted into the ministry. To this, however, the queen was strenuously opposed; and Marlborough, unwilling to wound her feeling, took part with her majesty, although the duchess was decidedly in favour of it, since she regarded her son-in-law with very great kindness and esteem. Godolphin sided with the duchess. He, therefore, proposed to offer to Hedges's acceptance another appointment of a nature more permanent and profitable. But this the queen would not listen to. "Why, for God's sake," said her majesty, "must I, who have no interest, no end, no thought but for the good of my country, be made so miserable as to be brought into the power of one set of men? And why may I not be trusted, since I mean nothing but what is equally for the good of all my subjects? There is another apprehension, I have of Lord Sunderland being secretary, which I think is a natural one, which proceeds from what I have heard of his temper. I am afraid he and I

should not agree long together, finding by experience my humour, and those that are of a warmer, will often have misunderstandings between one another. I could say a great deal more on this subject, but fear I have been too tedious already; therefore, I shall conclude, begging you to consider how to bring me out of my difficulties, and never leave my service, for Jesus Christ's sake; for, besides the reason I gave you in another letter, this is a blow I cannot bear."

This letter convinced Godolphin that it was of no use to urge the matter farther; and he resolved, in consequence, to retire. He signified this resolution to her majesty, and having done so, closed in the following pathetic manner:—"I have no house in the world to go to, but my house at Newmarket, which I must own is not at this time like to be a place of much retirement; but I have no other. I have worn out my health, and almost my life, in the service of the crown. I served your majesty faithfully to the best of my understanding, without any advantage to myself, except the honour of doing so, or without accepting any other favour than to end the small remainder of my days in liberty and quiet."

Marlborough sympathised with Godolphin; and was as anxious that he should not resign office, as the queen was. He wrote to him, therefore:—"I hope the queen will do everything for your case, but that of parting with you; in which, should you have a serious thought, you could not justify yourself to God or man; for, without flattery, as England is divided, there is nobody that can execute your place but yourself." "I am," he said again, shortly after, "positively of the opinion, that, should you quit the service of the queen, you would not only disturb the affairs of England, but also the liberties of Europe,

so that I conjure you not to have a thought of quitting, till we have a good peace. * * * As the affairs of Europe, and those of the queen in particular, are at this time, I think both you and I are in conscience and honour bound to undergo all the dangers and trouble that is possible, to bring this war to a happy end; which, I think, must be after the next campaign, if we can agree to carry it on with vigour. I shall be very uneasy till I hear from you, that everything is easy between the queen and you; for, without that, I shall have no heart to act in anything; being sure, that all things must go to destruction." "Yours of Oct. 12," says his grace, shortly after, "makes me fear, you have taken your resolution; which if it is to retire, I must lay the consequence before you, which is, that the Dutch will make their peace, which will be of fatal consequence, especially considering the advantage we now have; for in all probability one year's war would give ease to all Christendom for many years." He expressed his sentiments, also, to the queen; and having done so, became comparatively easy. "I have writ my mind," said he, to the duchess, "very freely to the queen on this occasion; so that whatever misfortune may happen, I shall have a quiet mind; having done what I thought my duty. As for the resolution of making me uneasy, I believe they will not have much pleasure in that; for as I have not set my heart on having justice done me, I shall not be disappointed; nor will I be ill-used by any man." In a subsequent letter, written to Godolphin, he pours out his feelings in respect to the friendship he entertained for him, in a very agreeable manner. "Allow me to give you this assurance, that as I know you to be a sincere, honest man, may God bless me as I

shall be careful, that whatever man is your enemy shall never be my friend."

The political variance, that had already long subsisted between her majesty and the duchess, was greatly widened by this matter. The duchess, as we have already stated, had a very great regard for her son-in-law, who was moreover according with her in political sentiment; and her grace was ardently desirous of his being raised, as was proposed, to one of the highest offices of the state. A correspondence ensued, therefore, between the queen and the duchess, in which the latter was pleased to use language, that could not do otherwise than give the queen something of offence. "Your security and the nation's," said her grace, "is my chief wish; and I beg of God Almighty, as sincerely as I shall do for his pardon at my last hour, that Mr. and Mrs. Morley may see their errors as to this nation before it comes too late." Godolphin, however, found, after a while, that the interference of the duchess, in regard to Sunderland's appointment, was as fruitless as his own. He, therefore, wrote to the duke, entreating his grace to write to the queen. This Marlborough did not hesitate to do, though hopeless of success. In this letter, he was rather more earnest than he had ever been before: for he entreated the queen to pause before she gave a final decision; and closed with displaying, in detail, the mischiefs, which she must expect to encounter, if she persisted in consulting her own personal prejudices, in preference to the interests of the state. The repugnance, however, of the queen still continued; and this led the Whigs to attribute it to Harley.

Harley, and the few moderate Tories yet in power, were striving to undermine their political antagonists,

and to draw Marlborough and Godolphin over to their party. The more intemperate of the Whigs, on the other hand, were jealous of these two ministers; who, in their turn, were equally averse to resign themselves to either party. They were inclined, according to Mr. Coxe, to the Tories, though disapproving their violence; but compelled by necessity to identify themselves with the Whigs; without whose assistance they could not carry on the government. The queen, at the same time, was far from being satisfied with Marlborough, because he had not rescued her from the bondage of the Whigs.

To be suspected by any one was exceedingly offensive to Marlborough at all times. At this period it was particularly so; insomuch that he declared, that, were it not for the gratitude he owed to the queen, and his concern for Godolphin, he would not hesitate one moment to retire altogether from public life. "I have had the good luck to deserve better of Englishmen," he wrote to the duchess, "than to be suspected of not being in the true interest of my country; which I am in, and ever will be, without being of a faction; and this principle shall govern me for the remainder of my life. I must not think of being popular; but I shall have the satisfaction of going to my grave with the opinion of having acted as an honest man."

Shortly after he had written this letter he arrived in England; and having had an immediate interview with the queen, he represented to her majesty, in so strong a manner, the difficulties she would have to encounter from a very active and determined party, should she longer hesitate in removing Sir Charles Hedges, and replacing him with the Earl of Sunderland, that her majesty relented; and his lordship was

accordingly gazetted on the day fixed for the meeting of Parliament.

The government was now based on a new footing, viz., on a Whig basis; the only Tory of any note, admitted to any share in it, being that very Harley, who seems to have been admitted, as it were, for the greater opportunity of raising the influence of all with whom he now began to act. The Parliament having met on the 3d of December, the Commons voted an address to the queen, congratulating her majesty on the glorious victory of Ramillies, and the repeated successes, with which it had pleased Heaven to bless her majesty's arms and those of her allies, "beyond the example of former ages." The Peers also warmly congratulated the queen on the great success of her arms during this "wonderful year:" and the Commons, in their address, mentioned the victory of Ramillies, as being "so glorious and so great in its consequences, and attended with such continued successes, through the whole course of the year, that no age could equal."

On taking his seat, Marlborough was greeted with every degree of gratitude and honour. "My Lord Duke of Marlborough," said the Lord Keeper, "I am commanded by this House, to give your grace their acknowledgments and thanks for the eminent services you have done, since the last session of parliament, to her majesty, and your country, together with their confederates in this just and necessary war. Though your former successes against the power of France, while it remained unbroken, gave most reasonable expectation, that you would not fail to improve them, yet what your grace has performed, this last campaign, has far exceeded all hopes, even of such as were most affectionate and partial to their country's

interest, and your glory. The advantages, you have gained against the enemy, are of such a nature, so conspicuous of themselves, so undoubtedly owing to your courage and conduct, so essentially and universally beneficial in their consequences to the whole confederacy, that to attempt to adorn them with the colouring of words, would be vain and inexcusable ; and, therefore, I decline it ; the rather because I should certainly offend that great modesty, which alone can and does add lustre to your actions, and which, in your grace's example, has successfully withstood as great trials as that virtue has met with in any instance whatsoever ; and I beg leave to say, that if any thing could move your grace to reflect with much satisfaction on your own merit, it would be this, that so august an assembly does, with one voice, praise and thank you ; an honour, which a judgment, so sure as that of your grace's, to think rightly of every thing, cannot but prefer to the ostentation of a public triumph."

To this speech the duke answered, modestly :—
" I esteem this a very particular honour, which your lordships are pleased to do me ; nobody in the world can be more sensible of it than I am, nor more desirous to deserve the continuance of your favour and good opinion."

The Commons, also, waited upon his grace with a similar address, and were answered in a manner equally modest.

On the 17th of December, the House of Peers presented an address to the queen, praying her majesty to extend and perpetuate the titles and honours of the duke to his daughters, and their heirs-male, in succession, so as to comprise all his posterity ; and also the honour and manor of Wood-

stock, with the house of Blenheim. This was particularly agreeable to the duke; for, having lost his only son, and having also lost all hopes of farther issue, he was now no longer anxious to perpetuate the name of Churchill in his family, which he had formerly required his representatives to assume. With the title and manor were also to descend the sum of 5000*l.* a-year from the post-office: the whole, however, being in the first instance, to be enjoyed, during her lifetime, by the duchess, upon whom they were all settled in jointure*.

* *Note.*—This grant has, of late years, become subject to various deductions; insomuch, that the income, now received from the post-office, is only 3625*l.* per annum, instead of 5000*l.*

That this is an inequitable infringement must be evident to every one that reads the original words of the grant, and the positive injunctions of parliament. For the grant was to enable the successors of the Duke of Marlborough to keep up the title. How a duke's title can be kept up with such a pittance as 3625*l.* per annum, we are quite at a loss to conjecture. Nor was the grant for this only. It was, that it might for ever after "act as a stimulus to induce others to follow the great and glorious example, the Duke of Marlborough had set." Those were not only the implied objects, but the expressly stated ones, in the grant and patent. In the spirit of these noble intentions, also, the titles and pensions of Chatham, Nelson, and Wellington, were granted; all of which are enjoyed "clear of taxes, impositions, and other charges."

The services of Marlborough were cheaply purchased and rewarded. We earnestly hope, therefore, that parliament will take the subject into its studious and equitable consideration, in order that the present, and all future occupiers, of Blenheim Palace and Park, may receive their due right†;—which, in our opinion, not only extends to the present and future, but to the past also. In fact, it is our deliberative opinion, after a strict investigation of the fact, grant, and circumstances, that not only the present right, but

† Can a mere park keep up a palace? Could Windsor Park keep up Windsor Castle?

On the day on which this matter was deliberated in Parliament, the duke addressed the House in the following manner:—

“ My lords, I cannot find words sufficient to express the sense I have of the great and distinguishing honour which the House has already been pleased to do me, in their resolution and their application to her majesty. The thoughts of it will be a continual satisfaction to me, and the highest encouragement; and the thankful memory of it must last as long as any posterity of mine. I beg leave to say a word to the House in relation to that part of her majesty’s most gracious answer, which concerns the estate at Woodstock, and the house at Blenheim. I did make my humble request to the queen, that those might go along with the titles, and I make the like request to your lordships, that after the Duchess of Marlborough’s death, upon whom they are settled in jointure, that estate and house may be limited to go always along with the honour.”

The grant of the 5000*l.* a-year to the duchess was at the express request of the duke. The duchess, therefore, considered herself more obliged to her husband than to her sovereign; and that is supposed to have been the cause why her letter to her majesty, in thanks, was written in so cold and formal a manner. “ Whether I have or have not the honour to see your majesty,” said her grace, “ I find there must always be something which obliges me to return you my humble thanks. The concern I have, “ the whole past right,” ought to be conceded. For though it is now more than a hundred years since the battles of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet were gained; and though the fruits of those victories were most maliciously sacrificed at the peace of Utrecht, it is far from being too much to assert, that we all derive benefit from those victories every day we live.

in the settlement, made to Lord Marlborough's family, by the act of parliament, makes a necessity of my giving you the trouble of them upon this occasion ; and though it is not natural to me to make you so many fine speeches and compliments as some others can do, yet nobody has a heart fuller of the sincerest wishes for your happiness and prosperity than your poor forsaken Freeman."

During the discussion, relative to these grants, the duke received from the city of London the same testimonial of national gratitude as after the battle of Blenheim. Being invited by the Lord Mayor and court of aldermen to dine with them in the city, his grace went thither, accompanied by the Lord High Treasurer and the Dukes of Ormond and Somerset, in one of the queen's coaches ; followed by a train of other coaches, in which were several of the nobility, the foreign ministers, and other persons of quality, with the generals and other officers of the army : the standard and colours, taken at the battle of Ramillies, having been first transferred with military pomp from Whitehall, where they had been first deposited, to Guildhall. It was a proud display ; consisting of twenty-six standards, and twenty-six colours. As the cavalcade traversed the park and mews of St. James's, the queen appeared at one of the windows of the palace, at once to witness the procession, and to give it additional honour. At Temple-Bar his grace was received by the city-marshal with nearly the same formalities as are shown to the sovereign ; and throughout the whole going and returning he was followed with acclamations from the assembled multitudes.

To add to all these solemnities, the queen went, on the last day of the year, to the cathedral of St.

Paul's, thereby giving the city of London the happy spectacles of two triumphs in one year.

At this time the act of Union with Scotland engaged the earnest attention of parliament; and as Marlborough considered, that the settlement of that question involved not merely the temporary prosperity of England, but its permanent interest, as well as that of all Europe, he took an active part in bringing it to a happy conclusion; thereby giving the most fatal blow to the hopes of the Stuart family, that had been struck since the revolution.

A new danger had now risen up in Europe. Augustus, king of Poland, was reduced to so low an ebb, that, brave as he was, he had been compelled to retire into Saxony, leaving the greater part of his kingdom in possession of Charles XII.; who, soon after, leading his victorious army into that country, forced the unfortunate monarch to resign his crown in favour of Stanislaus Letzinski, a nobleman, whom accident first raised to the notice of the victorious Swede. There having arrived, he pitched his tents at Alt Ranstadt, two miles from Leipzig; and in an imperative tone, not only called upon the European powers to guarantee the peace he had concluded with Augustus, but to acknowledge Stanislaus.

He had been attacked by three northern sovereigns. The king of Denmark he reduced to the signing a dishonourable peace; then bursting into those territories of the Czar, that lie on the borders of the Baltic, he defeated Peter, now generally styled the Great, in many bloody battles; then, turning to Poland, he succeeded in dethroning king Augustus, as we have just now stated.

The march of the Swedish hero into Saxony greatly

excited the jealousy of the allies. The English and Dutch ministers, in consequence, wrote to the king, who essayed to answer, that "he had no design by this invasion of Saxony to undertake anything to the prejudice of his friends and allies; but being provoked by an unjust war, to do what the law of nations allows, he ought long since to have removed the seat of war to that electorate where it had its source, and had been supported so many years; but that he forbore doing it, at the intercession of the allies, and would not make use of his right, so long as he had any prospect of curbing an obstinate enemy. But since his affairs would not suffer him to be amused any longer, and that he could not permit the enemy to repair his strength, so often broke to no purpose, there was a necessity of attacking the fountain from whence so many evils had sprung; hoping that the allies would have no cause to complain, if, by this expedition, their successes should be interrupted; since it was very apparent, Saxony had done so much mischief, and would do more if not prevented."

This answer not being regarded as satisfactory; and reports being in circulation, that the king of Sweden was on the point of concluding a subsidiary treaty with the king of France; one article of which was that the Elector of Bavaria should be restored; another that a civil war should be kindled in the empire; and a third that the revolution in Hungary should be considered—Marlborough was solicited not only by his friends in England and Holland, but by the court of Vienna, to visit the king, in order to penetrate his designs; more especially as Charles, when pressed to give more explicit explanations, in regard to his intentions, had said, that he would

open his mind to no one but the Duke of Marlborough.

Thus impressed and thus situated, the duke recurred for advice to the Elector of Hanover; assuring his highness, that, if he thought it necessary, he was ready to undertake the journey. The elector not only wished him to put his design in force, but hinted to him by letter, that it was necessary—to succeed in it—to gain the two ministers, to whom Charles was greatly attached: viz., Piper and Hermelin; the first by an annual grant of 2000*l.*; the other of 1000*l.*: the first year to be paid in advance.

All this took place before Marlborough left London. On arriving at the Hague, he imparted his resolution of visiting the king of Sweden to the Pensionary Heinsius, and afterwards to certain of the deputies; one of whom, with the pensionary, showed him letters, which had been intercepted and deciphered, that showed very plainly, that almost every one about the king, except Count Piper, received French money.

Having obtained the sanction of the Dutch government to his journey, the duke set out from the Hague; and, having visited the elector of Hanover in his way, he arrived, shortly after, at the Swedish camp, accompanied by Cranenberg and Mr. Robinson. He drove at once to the head-quarters of Piper; who did not fail to assure him, that the king was highly gratified at learning, that his grace had undertaken to visit him. Charles had passed his word, in 1700, not to intermeddle in the war, then about to break out, between the allies and Louis XIV. The allies, however, were not disposed to trust, implicitly, to this declaration; and the Duke of Marlborough, more especially, could scarcely be disposed to trust, that

a prince, who pursued glory, with so much eagerness, as the king of Sweden, would be so subservient to his word, as not to sacrifice it to his interest and ambition, if he fancied he saw a favourable opportunity.

We will here give an instance of the falsehoods, that some former writers have been accustomed to invent, in order to answer some purpose or other of their own. Marlborough was received by Count Piper in the manner we have stated. Yet what says Mons. de la Mottraye? "The duke, coming to the gate of Count Piper's quarters, precisely at the time appointed, sent in his message; but was answered, the count was busy. The duke waited a good hour and a half before he came down; but he no sooner saw him at the gate, ready to receive him, than he came out of his coach, and, putting on his hat, passed by the count, without saluting him, and went aside as if to make water; and then, after having made him wait longer than was necessary, for that purpose, he went up and addressed him with that eloquence and politeness, which every one knows was natural to him."

On the morning after his arrival (April 27th), Marlborough was complimented by the ministers and the general officers. At half-past eight, he went in a coach of Count Piper's to Alt-Ranstadt; and about ten had his first audience of the king. At this interview, the king was surrounded by several senators and generals; Mr. Robinson acted as interpreter; and the Swedish monarch received his illustrious guest with all demonstrations of esteem and honour. On arriving in the presence of the king, "I present to your majesty," said his grace, "a letter, not from the chancery, but from the heart of the queen, my

mistress, and written with her own hand. Had not her sex prevented it, she would have crossed the sea to see a prince, admired by the whole universe. I am, in this particular, more happy than the queen; and I wish I could serve some campaign under so great a general as your majesty, that I might learn what I yet want to know in the art of war."

This well-timed compliment was exceedingly agreeable to the royal warrior; and it is said to have soothed his vanity so much, that his satisfaction became so visible in his countenance, that all present saw, and afterwards remarked upon it. "The Queen of Great Britain's letter," answered his majesty, "and your person, are both very acceptable to me; and I shall always have the utmost regard for the interposition of her Britannic majesty, and the interests of the grand alliance. It is likewise much against my will, if I have been obliged to give the least umbrage to any of the parties engaged in it; but your excellency cannot fail to be convinced, that I had just cause to come into this country with my troops. On the other hand, you may assure the queen, my sister, that my design is to depart from hence, as soon as I have obtained the satisfaction I demand; but no sooner. However, I shall do nothing that can tend to the prejudice of the common cause in general, or the protestant religion in particular, of which I shall always glory to be a zealous protector."

The conversation then turned on military and political subjects, lasting till mid-day; when it being the hour at which the king usually dined, his majesty invited the duke to partake of his repast. After dinner they repaired to the royal closet; accompanied by Piper, Hermelin, and Robinson; and there a very interesting conversation is reported to have

taken place. It is thus related by Voltaire:—"The duke, who was never very hasty in making proposals, and had learned, by long experience, the art of penetrating into the minds of men, as well as of diving into the secret connexion between their inmost thoughts and their actions, gestures, and discourse, fixed his eyes attentively upon the king. When he spoke to him of war in general, he imagined that he saw in his majesty a natural aversion towards France, and that he took a secret pleasure in speaking of the conquests of the allies. He mentioned the Czar to him, and took notice, that his eyes kindled whenever he was named; notwithstanding the moderation of the conference. He moreover remarked that the king had a map of Muscovy lying beside him, on the table. This was sufficient to determine him in his judgment, that the king of Sweden's real design, and sole ambition, were to dethrone the Czar, as he had already done the king of Poland. He found that he had no other views by remaining in Saxony, than by that means to impose some hard terms on the emperor of Germany. He knew his imperial majesty would comply, and that thus matters would be easily brought to a conclusion. The duke left Charles XII. to his natural inclination; and being satisfied with having discovered his inclination, he made him no proposal."*

The audience being over, the duke spent the rest of the evening in visiting Count Piper and other distinguished persons; and as one and perhaps the

* This account being taken from Voltaire's life of Charles XII., gives us an opportunity of quoting that writer's opinion of the Duke of Marlborough. "He was equally qualified for the field and the cabinet; and did as much mischief to France by the wisdom of his head as by the force of his arm."

most successful method to gain or to keep up the interest he had excited with the hero to whom he was upon a visit, he in a few days offered to have settled on the Counts Piper and Hermelin one thousand pounds a year, as the Elector of Hanover had advised him. Piper, for a time, affected to have scruples ; but the duke having effected some progress, appealed to Piper's wife, and the affair was soon settled. That Piper received a sum of money—for the first annual allowance was paid in advance—soon became the subject of conversation throughout all Europe, from the circumstance of a rich Jew of Amsterdam, who was at the fair of Leipzig, having been seen to wait on the duke more than once. This Jew was known to negotiate bills of exchange with M. Hayman, an influential banker in Leipzig ; and M. Hayman was equally well known, about the same time, to pay a large sum to count Piper's order.

While here, Augustus, ex-king of Poland, sent a nobleman (Count Wackerbart) to compliment the duke, and then to invite him to an interview at Leipzig. Though this was a most delicate matter, and might give offence to the Swedish monarch, Marlborough did not decline the invitation. What passed at this interview we may glean something of by what Marlborough says in one of his letters to the Lord Treasurer. "I had an audience of King Augustus," said his grace, "at Leipzig ; at which, besides many repeated assurances of his respect to the queen, and of his strict adherence to the interest of the allies, he complained to me of the great hardships and extortions he had suffered from the Swedes, and insinuated his desire, that the guaranty, at the same time they accepted the

guaranty of his treaty, would take care that he might have some satisfaction for seven millions of crowns, he pretends they have exacted, beyond what the treaty allows. To which, I gave him my opinion, that it was no ways advisable for him to offer anything at this juncture, that might give the least handle to the King of Sweden to delay his march out of Saxony. You will have heard when this treaty was concluded here, by Mr. Stepney, for the Saxon troops, upon the notice I had of it, and the pressing instances the king made me; I was prevailed with to give Sir G. Wackerbart, who is to command there, a bill on Mr. Sweet for 40,000 crowns, payable at fifteen days' sight, to enable them to hasten their march, which he promised should be done before the time appointed by the treaty; so that I must pray your care, in ordering remittances for this service. The rest of the king's troops, I find, are a greater burden to him than he is able to bear, his country being very much exhausted; so that, at his desire, I have pressed the Court of Vienna to take three or four thousand horse into their pay, which they assure me are in good condition."

Charles, in the audience he had before given to the duke, had declared, that he would accept no proposal of mediation, till informed by him, that it was agreeable to her Britannic majesty. When admitted to his audience of leave, the king evinced, if possible, a still higher respect and esteem for him; and all matters having been adjusted to their satisfaction, Marlborough took leave of his majesty, each party indicating the high respect they mutually felt in regard to each other. As Marlborough, however, was quitting the royal closet, notice was given that Stanislaus, whom, as we have before said, Charles

had raised to the Polish throne, was in the ante-chamber. To meet a sovereign, who was not only not acknowledged by England, but who was the successful rival of the sovereign whom she did acknowledge, was a matter of some delicacy and difficulty. Marlborough, however, feeling assured that Stanislaus had come at the express desire of the king, made no objection to his being introduced, and bowing assent, the king advanced to the door, and introduced the visitor himself. "The Duke," we are told, "paid his respects to Stanislaus without compromising the dignity of his own sovereign; and the countenance and manner of Charles showed the gratification, which he derived from this proof of attention."

Having thus succeeded in the negotiation to his wishes, the duke now hurried his departure; and having received an intimation from the king of Prussia, on his arrival at Charlottenburg, that his majesty desired an interview with him, Marlborough did not fail to wait upon him. He supped, therefore, with the king on the night of his arrival; and, the next day, accompanied his majesty to divine service. The duke stopped only one day; but, during that short time, he was enabled to settle some important matters, and received from the king many proofs of regard. At parting the king "forced upon him," (Marlborough's own expression,) a diamond ring, valued at a thousand pounds. "This journey," wrote his grace, "has given me the advantage of seeing four kings,* three of whom I had never seen. They seem to be all different in their kinds. If I was obliged to make a choice, it should be the youngest, which is the King of Sweden."

* The King of Prussia, the King of Sweden, and the two Kings of Poland.

From Charlottenburg the duke went to Hanover ; where, however, he stopt only long enough to inform the elector in regard to the success of his missions. He reached the Hague on the 8th of May, having been absent not more than eighteen days. On arriving he lost no time in communicating to the States the assurances he had received from the King of Sweden. "This," says Lediard, to whose narrative we have been so greatly indebted in the course of these pages, as well as to those of Mr. Coxe and other writers, "entirely dissipated the jealousies, some of the allies had conceived of his Swedish majesty's designs; which were industriously fomented by the emissaries of France, who, on the other hand, left no stone unturned to engage the young northern hero in an open rupture with the emperor. The intrigues of France, however, proved unsuccessful; the King of Sweden's resolves were fixed; nothing less than the dethroning of the Czar of Muscovy could satisfy his ambition, or cool his revenge. He overlooked the most unsurmountable difficulties and dangers with a kind of disdain, which showed he was inexorable; and the short stay, he yet made in Saxony, was only to bring the emperor to harder conditions, which he succeeded in; especially in favour of the Protestants of Silesia. For the neighbourhood of a prince, haughty, tenacious, and affronted, at the head of an army daily increasing, made the emperor think it his interest, or rather, he was under the necessity, to get rid of him at any rate."

The satisfaction Marlborough gave to the ministry at home is amply discoverable in certain passages from the letters of Godolphin and other parties. "I think the kingdom can never thank you enough," said Godolphin, "for having settled all things where you

have been, so much to your own satisfaction and our advantage." "Your grace was born to do these great things for your country, which no man else ever did or can do," said Harley; "and therefore to your greater share of glory there falls a greater share of fatigue." "As you have a zeal for the public, which makes you not refuse to serve your country, so your grace has a felicity and faculty to do that, for the honour of the queen and the nation, which nobody else could perform."

Having disposed of all necessary affairs at the Hague, Marlborough proceeded to Brussels, where he arrived on the 13th of May. He immediately held a council of war with Overkirk and the field-deputies of the States; and orders were sent to the allied troops to march to Anderlech, as their place of general rendezvous. The confederate army, at this time, amounted to 97 battalions and 164 squadrons; that of France to 102 battalions and 168 squadrons. The confederates had 102 pieces of cannon; the French 72.

Having joined the army at Halle, the duke learned that the enemy had quitted their lines: "So," said his grace, in a letter to the Earl of Manchester, "we may be able to guess, the next march we make, whether they design to meet us, as they give out. It is certain they are very numerous; but our troops are all in so good a condition, that I think we can wish for nothing more than a battle, to do our part towards repairing the misfortune in Spain." This reference to Spain refers to a shameful and fatal defeat, sustained in that country, at the battle of Almanza.

In the mean time, the emperor, in order to facilitate his plans in regard to Naples, had secretly concluded a treaty of neutrality for Italy, with France; and for

the sake of accomplishing the speedy reduction of the Milanese, permitted the French garrisons to withdraw without any molestation. The consequences of this treaty—which was not heard of till it was too late to prevent its conclusion,—were soon felt in every part of the theatre of action. For the French, relieved from any apprehension on the side of Italy, were by this not only able to pursue their plans with greater vigour in the Peninsula, but swell their army on the Upper Rhine. The fatal battle on the plains of Almanza was, in some degree, the consequence of this policy : France had been able to recruit its forces, and so great a defeat ensued, that before a month had elapsed the Bourbon commanders had been able to recover the greater part of Valencia, Murcia, and Arragon ; in so much that King Charles was confined to the single province of Catalonia, where his whole force did not amount to more than 10,000 regular troops.

To remedy all this was beyond Marlborough's power ; for the disaster made so little impression on the Dutch, that he says, in a letter to Godolphin, that the generality of the people showed a satisfaction at it rather than otherwise. " This I do not attribute," continued he, " to any inclination, they have for the French, as their aversion to the present government, and the disorder it lies under, to which I do not see any proper remedy can be applied during the war. The Dutch think the French are stronger than we are : if they continue of that opinion, we shall do nothing."

The enemy was collected in the vicinity of Mons, under the command of the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke de Vendome. But our limits being confined, we might almost as well go to the end of the

campaign at once ; since little was done during the whole of it. For the Dutch had so relapsed into their old, jealous, narrow, hesitating policy, that Marlborough was not permitted to make fresh conquests, nor to act with his accustomed vigour. They were satisfied with what had been already done. "They will never more this war," wrote the duke, "venture anything, that may be decisive ; being of opinion, that they have already enough in their possession for their security, and that France will assist them in disposing of their possessions, as they shall think best."

Having advanced to Maldert,—a strong position, which covered the opening into Brabant,—Marlborough was in great hopes of bringing the enemy to an engagement. But in this he was not gratified. At this time,—for it is extremely agreeable to see what a warrior can be in his domestic relations, at a time in which he is surrounded by the fury of war,—he wrote a very affectionate letter to the duchess. "By the inclosed, which I received but yesterday, though it be of an old date, you will see the country takes notice, that the work (at Blenheim) does not go on, as they expected. Say nothing, but burn the letter ; for when it is half built, it may be enough for you and me ; and I do from my heart assure you, that I should be much better pleased with you in a cottage, than in all the palaces this world has without you."

About this time the Margrave of Baden died ; he, whose jealousy had so often marred the splendid designs of Marlborough ; and the Margrave of Bareith was appointed to succeed him in the command of the German part of the confederate army. This general had not sufficient qualities for the situation in which he was placed ; and Villars, therefore, became enabled to make a successful irruption into the

empire. An attempt, in consequence, was made to remove the Margrave from the command. Marlborough proposed the Elector of Hanover as a successor : " Not only from a wish," we are told, " to throw lustre on the house, next in succession to the British throne, but with the hope, that a prince, in the prime of life, would retrieve the military honour of the Germans." It was not, however, till a great portion of the summer had elapsed, that Marlborough was able to succeed. The thought of appointing the Elector of Hanover appears to have been greatly strengthened by a letter, which the duke received from the Elector Palatine.

" I have the honour, sir, to write you this, to conjure you, by all that is dearest to you in this world, to employ the great credit, together with your good offices, as well at the courts of Vienna and England, as wherever else you may judge it necessary, that the command of the army of the empire be entrusted, without any loss of time, to the Elector of Hanover. The crisis, to which the affairs of the empire are at this time reduced, will easily convince you, how necessary it is, at present, to apply speedy, and proper remedies ; of which, in my opinion, what I now suggest to you, in the person of the said elector, is one of the chief."

The elector at first declined the offer made to him ; answering that he could not think that any one could have any regard for his glory, who could advise him to accept the command, since the best that could be hoped was to stand on the defensive. He was, at last, however, induced to accept ; offering, at the same time, to carry a body of troops with him, without any charge to the empire ; at which the duke greatly rejoiced.

In the mean time France had endeavoured to

foment a rupture between the emperor and the King of Sweden: for notwithstanding the success of the Duke of Marlborough's negotiations in Saxony, the emissaries of France left no stone unturned to engage the young Swede in a rupture with his imperial majesty; nor did the king want plausible pretences. For an account of these we must refer to the various histories of the times. We have space only to say that the king was at last induced to listen to advice; and that his pride and vanity having been sufficiently soothed by Marlborough, and the emperor's ministers, he led his army over the Oder, and advanced towards the Vistula. "The danger," says Mr. Coxe, "which had threatened the dissolution of the grand alliance, was thus happily arrested; and the prince, who had held in his hands the fate of Europe, and raised the admiration of the world, led his veteran army to perish in the wilds of Muscovy, and himself became a fugitive and a suppliant in a distant and barbarous land."

A great deal of time being at this moment wasted at Maldert, in consequence of the reluctance of the Dutch to encounter any hazards, we may take the opportunity of recurring to what was doing at home. The queen having shown some favour to the Tories in the dispensation of church preferment, the Whigs had taken offence, and some bickerings ensued between them and Godolphin. Marlborough, also, was involved in it. This difference arose from the refusal of the queen to nominate Dr. Potter to the regius professorship of divinity in the University of Oxford, and the promotion of two Tories to the sees of Exeter and Chester. These promotions were the work of the queen; and her majesty having decided upon them without consulting either Marl-

borough or Godolphin, a contention ensued, which lasted not less than a year. A misunderstanding ensued, also, between Marlborough and Lord Halifax; the former having offered to Lord Somers an appointment, which the latter had ardently desired.

This affront Halifax had, soon after, an opportunity of revenging. For the Duke's brother, Admiral Churchill, having laid himself open to the hostility of the Whigs, they formed a determination to bring a charge against him in parliament for mismanagement of the navy; he being possessed of the highest influence in the council of Prince George, the Lord High Admiral. To spare the feelings of his brother, the duke appealed to several Whigs, and even went so far as to write to Lord Halifax. The letter was sufficiently humble; but Halifax, remembering the affair just alluded to, sent the duke no answer. In the mean time a cabal formed in the palace of the queen, which had the result of affecting the duke not only in his private capacity but in his public one.

We have already stated, that the friendship, so long existing between the queen and the duchess, had received a great interruption; external indications of regard, however, were still preserved; for the queen, says Mr. Coxe, was a perfect mistress of dissimulation; and the duchess was too lofty, even to suspect that the empire, which she possessed over her royal mistress, could be undermined. In this, continues the same authority, she resembled most favourites, who neglect to maintain their power, by the means employed to acquire it, and overlook appearances, which seem trifling only to themselves.*

* The following passage, written by the duchess, will serve to show, that the situation, she held, was not always of the most agreeable description:—"As fond as people are of power, I fancy

The duchess, being averse to a constant court attendance, placed about her majesty's person, as one of the bed-chamber women, an humble relation (cousin), whom she had not only rescued from penury, but whose family she had continued to patronise and maintain. This person she selected, because she not only placed implicit confidence in her, but because she regarded her abilities as being, by no means, of a superior cast. "For a time," we are informed, "her cousin answered all her expectations; and seemed a faithful and vigilant observer of the transactions at court, and the feelings and conduct of the queen. The duchess, therefore, relaxed still more in her attendance; and, proud of her husband's splendid services, she gradually became more presumptuous and domineering."

The consequence of all this was, that Mrs. Hill, overlooking the services she had received from the duchess, became a successful rival in the favour of her mistress. She grew into consequence, and was courted by many candidates for court favour. She was a Tory. The duchess was a Whig. This added to Mrs. Hill's influence. She was, also, adverse to

that anybody, that had been shut up so many tedious hours, as I have been, with a person, that had no conversation, and yet must be treated with respect, would feel something of what I did, and be very glad when their circumstances did not want it, to be freed from such a slavery, which must be uneasy at all times, though I do protest upon the account of her loving me and trusting me so entirely as she did, I had a concern for her, which was more than you will easily believe, and I would have served her with the hazard of my life on any occasion; but after she put me at liberty by using me ill I was very easy, and liked better that anybody should have her favour than myself at the price of flattery, without which, I believe, nobody can be well with a king or queen, unless the world should become to be less corrupt, or they wiser than any I have seen since I was born."

the house of Hanover. She was supple, intriguing, and ungrateful. She had a relation in the ministry, too, of a like character. This was Harley. His clement was political intrigue; he is, therefore, justly described as having been plausible, insinuating, adroit in flattery, of a cool and calculating head, full of courtesy and apparent candour; and above all, profuse in expressions of duty and attachment. These parties played into each others hands. Mrs. Hill supplanted the duchess, her benefactress: Harley also, with every sentiment of respect and duty on his lips, followed her example in doing all he could to supplant his benefactor. Mrs. Hill was the duchess's relation by the mother's side; by the father's she was, also, related to Harley. Both united in inflaming the queen against the duchess. Added to which, Harley took especial care to foment a feeling of discontent among the Whigs against Marlborough and Godolphin.

For some time the duchess was blind to all this. She was apprised of it, indeed, by several, who had a near opportunity of observing; but she could not bring her mind to believe it. At length she awoke from her delusion, and communicated her thoughts in respect to it to the duke. The duke paid little attention to this suggestion; contenting himself with merely advising the duchess to give Mrs. Hill a caution. "This may do good," said he; "for she is certainly grateful, and will mind what you say."

The duchess, however, was too greatly moved to follow this advice so implicitly as the duke wished. She even proceeded to write, in a manner prudence could in no way justify. The queen answered rather sarcastically; and this irritated her grace into giving way to her resentment in a style even more impru-

dent than she had done before. At length her grace's suspicion was entirely confirmed. Mrs. Hill at this time married a Mr. Masham, whom the duchess had, also, placed in the royal household. The marriage itself proved little. But it was solemnized not at church, but in the palace; not in secret, but in the queen's presence!

When the duchess heard of this, she burst not only into the palace, but, without any notification of her arrival, into the queen's presence. There she expostulated with her majesty; charging her with having concealed from her a marriage which concerned her nearly, Mrs. Hill being a relation. The queen answered in a manner that, by no means, tended to allay the fever; and from this moment their intercourse was chiefly confined to a correspondence, in which the queen appears to as little advantage as the duchess. For if the duchess was acrimonious, the queen was humility itself, blended with dissimulation.

We now return to continental affairs. At this time Marlborough was in great suspense in regard to an expedition, which had been undertaken against Toulon, by Prince Eugene and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. The Duke's opinion in regard to this is very expressively stated in one of his letters to Lord Godolphin. "Should Toulon not be taken, the war must be continued; but if that should succeed, I should then hope France would be forced to give such conditions, as England should think reasonable." "If," says he in another letter, "the siege of Toulon goes on prosperously, I shall be cured of all diseases but old age."

He was the more anxious in regard to this, since the Dutch had manifested, more strongly than heretofore, an inclination for peace. For, deeming themselves

secure of a barrier by the victories of last year, they had become almost entirely indifferent to success in other quarters. This selfishness of conduct exceedingly displeased the English government ; insomuch that the Lord Treasurer proposed a separate union with the other allies, in order to deter the States from tampering with France ; a subject on which he was exceedingly apprehensive. The duke, however, felt induced to judge the Dutch more favourably. He, therefore, opposed this proposition, lest it should create a breach with the States. He was, decidedly, of opinion, also, that nothing should be said till the fate of Toulon was known.

Six weeks was Marlborough detained at Maldert, unable, because not permitted, to strike a single blow. His design was to march on Genappe ; by doing which he felt assured, the French must either risk a battle, or retire from their strong position at Gemblours. Learning, however, that Vendome had despatched part of his force to Provence, these feeble men (the deputies) consented to the movement Marlborough had proposed. At four in the afternoon of the 10th of August the whole struck their tents ; and, according to the disposition that had been made, passed the Dyle at Florival ; and marching all night, arrived, the next morning at break of day, about the heights of Waveren, where they made a short halt, and then continued their march towards Genappe, where they encamped, with their right at Promelles, and their left at Davieres ; having made a march of about one-and-twenty miles.

The moment Vendome heard that Marlborough had made this movement, he gave orders for decamping, and accordingly, though it was midnight, began to march ; feeling assured, that if he waited one

moment, he could not avoid an action. In allusion to this expedition, on the part of the enemy, Marlborough says, in a letter to the minister,—“I hope this will convince our friends in Holland, as it has done our deputies, that if they had consented to my making this march six weeks ago, as I pressed to do, the French would have then made, as they now have, a shameful march, by which both armies see, very plainly, that they will not venture to fight.” This retreat, also, proved to the satisfaction of Marlborough and all his army, what a superiority they possessed over the enemy, in the dread that his name had inspired.

On the retreat of the enemy Marlborough moved immediately to Nivelles, and prepared, with all the alacrity of his nature, to compel battle the next day. The French, however, still determining to avoid an engagement, continued retreating with great rapidity, and did not halt till they arrived behind the rivulet which falls into the Haine, in the vicinity of Mons. There they stopped, under arms, one night; and pursued their course, next day, to Chievres, from which place they could reach the protection of their lines in one march. A succession of heavy rains, which rendered the roads and ways wholly impassable, now prevented all movement; and for a fortnight both armies were compelled to remain in their respective camps. At this time the English general heard from his former celebrated companion in arms, Prince Eugene: “What your highness has done, since you had the power of marching against the enemy, evidently proves that this campaign would have been as glorious as the last, if you had not been restrained by the great circumspection of the Dutch deputies, who, ignorant of our profession, follow the opinion

of their generals, who know nothing but defensive warfare." This letter gave no small satisfaction to Marlborough; for it is a great pleasure to the great to be appreciated by minds assimilating in greatness with their own.

"Vendome's avoiding twice to fight within four days,"* wrote the duke to Godolphin, "will, I hope, convince our friends, as well as enemies, that his orders are not to venture. The consternation, that has been amongst their common soldiers, ought to assure us of victory, if we can ever engage them; but they will not venture. They are now in a country where they may march from one strong camp to another, and so end the campaign; and this I fear they will do."

The enemy having, however, one day shown some signs, that they intended to forage at Templeure, Marlborough marched out, by break of day, with 20,000 foot, 5,000 horse, and 12 pieces of cannon, with a design to attack the guard, that covered them; and by that means endeavour to force them to a general action. The enemy, however, seeing the general's wish, did not think fit to venture out. On which Marlborough was obliged to content himself with ordering his troops to forage the places, the enemy had intended to do, in order that they might have no farther benefit from them. This was done

* Vendome was the son of Henry IV. by one of his mistresses. He was exceedingly indolent. "It seemed not a little astonishing," says Voltaire, "to see a general-in-chief keeping his bed till four in the afternoon; and a prince, sprung from the blood-royal, sunk in such a foul and filthy neglect in his person, as would have disgraced the meanest peasant." "In moments of emergency, however," remarks Lord Mahon, "he knew how to cast off such slothful habits; and still more frequently atoned for them by presence of mind and great personal exposure."

without any opposition, though the French were within a league of their camp and under the cannon of Tournay.

About this time Marlborough wrote a letter to the duchess, in which occurs the following passage:—
“I do assure you, I did not mean the Whigs, when I spoke of ingratitude, but I meant it in general to England; and if you will do me justice, you must believe that I have done all the good offices, that are possible, at this distance. I do not say this to make my court to the Whigs, but that I am persuaded that it was good for my country and for the service of the queen and England; for I am now both at an age and humour, that I would not be bound to make my court to either party, for all that this world could give me. Besides, I am so disheartened, that when I shall have done my duty, I shall submit to Providence; but, as a friend, I will tell you the unavoidable consequence, if the Whigs mortify the lord treasurer, that he will be disheartened, and Mr. Harley have the power and credit of doing what he pleases. This I know will hurt both the queen and England, but I see no remedy.”

Finding it impossible to draw the enemy into an engagement, Marlborough moved from Soignies to Alt and then to Helchin, where he first received intelligence that the expedition had failed against Toulon; and that the combined forces had been compelled to retreat into Piedmont. This disaster is said to have arisen from the jealousy existing between all the parties, engaged in the enterprise. “The rivalry,” says Mr. Coxe, “which reigned in the respective cabinets of Vienna and Turin, extended its influence to the field, and created the same disunion between the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene,

in their capacity of generals, as between the duke and the emperor in their capacity of sovereigns."

The effects of these jealousies were felt in every movement. The military force, employed against the town, was 35,000 men. These scaled the Col di Tendi, and traversing the difficult country lying contiguous to the Mediterranean, reached the camp of Velotte, in the vicinity of Toulon, on the 26th of June; where, before the mouth of the harbour, lay an English fleet, commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, consisting of not less than forty sail.

The garrison of Toulon scarcely exceeded 8000 men; and not well prepared to stand against an attack, if instantly begun. But so much time was lost in deliberations and disputes, that the government of France had time to reinforce the town so amply, that the enterprise became hopeless. The allied forces, embarrassed by the want of supplies, and menaced by the forces assembling round them, abandoned the design, relinquished their posts, commenced a retreat; and, after a great deal of difficulty, reached the place, from whence they had set out, with their army reduced one half. This failure afflicted Marlborough in a double sense. For by it he not only felt the evil, as it regarded the present time; but he saw clearly that it was impossible for the two courts (those of Vienna and Turin), to unite for the attainment of any common object; and equally futile to expect that Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy could ever again be associated in any future command.

Finding it impossible to bring the Duke de Vendome to an engagement, the French camp being covered with the Scheldt and their entrenchments, Marlborough left his camp at Helchin, and went to

the Hague. The Dutch concurred in all the plans he thought proper to submit to their consideration ; and he found them, also, greatly desirous, that he should not only meet the elector, and take measures with him for the next campaign ; but that he should press on the emperor and the empire the necessity of their taking 6000 Saxon horse into their service. Notwithstanding all this, the duke saw plainly that what may be called the Dutch disorder was still rife. "I must acquaint you," said his grace in a letter to the minister, "that the Dutch will not only not augment their own troops, but will act the next year as they have done this last ; which is so disheartening, that I do wish, with all my heart, it were possible for me to be excused from being at the head of their troops." The fact was, also—what Marlborough did not so well know—that the Dutch were not altogether ignorant of the cabals in the English cabinet, and the declining favour of the duke and Godolphin : circumstances which greatly increased the desire the Dutch had for peace.

Having effected all he could, with the Dutch, the duke returned to the camp at Helchin, where he inspected the troops, preparatory to their going into winter quarters. He then sat off for Frankfort, for the purpose of meeting the elector of Hanover, the elector Palatine, and Count Wratislaw, the emperor's plenipotentiary. On the 19th he was met by the elector Palatine, about one league from his castle of Bansberg, where his electoral highness entertained his grace with a splendid dinner, under a very magnificent tent. He arrived at Frankfort on the 21st. There the elector of Hanover and the elector of Mentz had arrived before him. They had several conferences together ; but owing to Count Wratislaw

not having arrived, nothing could be concluded. Nor could any thing effectual be done after he did arrive, because he then explicitly declared, that he had not received full instructions. Upon this the conferences broke off; but not before the elector of Hanover had declared, privately, to the duke, that unless the empire consented to put their army in a better condition than it then was, he would not return to it. "I am very sensible," said Marlborough, writing an account of this to the minister at home, "of the uneasiness he is likely to meet with, by what I suffer in Flanders."—"What I am going to say," continues he in another letter, "does not proceed from the spleen, but really from the vexation I have in my mind, which makes me less capable of serving with success, as I have done hitherto; so that if I can't prevail to have Prince Eugene sent to Catalonia, I should think the next best thing for the service would be, that he commands in chief in the empire; and that the elector of Hanover takes upon him the command I have in Flanders; for if things go as I think they will, both in England and Holland, nothing shall prevail with me to lose that reputation I have hazarded for this war. Till I have had an opportunity of acquainting the queen, and having her leave, I shall let nobody know of this intention of mine, but the pensioner, who is an honest man, and so much my friend, that he will say nothing of it till he has my leave. I send you the Duke of Savoy's letter and project, as also my answer; so that in what I have been wanting, the lords of the cabinet may advise her majesty. The States having, by an express, given her power to assure the Landgrave of Hesse, that they will satisfy him for his arrears; and if he will consent to leave his troops

one year longer in Italy, I shall, this afternoon, send an express to Cassel, and press him, in the name of her majesty, as well as that of the states-general; but I fear he has already sent his orders from the Hague. You shall know what effect my letter to the landgrave has had."

The duke returned to the Hague on the 3rd of November, whither he was accompanied by Count Wratislaw. During his stay there his grace communicated what had passed at Frankfort to the states-general; and their deputies having several conferences with the imperial ministers, the States resolved to use all means to engage the empire to make greater efforts than they had hitherto done. Soon after this the duke returned to England. Previous to which, however, he had written to the duchess a letter, in which occurs this curious passage:—"What you say of Mrs. Masham is very odd; and if you think she is a good weathercock, it is high time to leave off struggling; for believe me, nothing is worth rowing for against wind and tide; at least you will think so, when you come to my age." In a letter, dated a few days after, he says:—"I find my lord treasurer very desirous of my being with him. I have no opinion of my being able to do any good; but uncertainty is the worst of all conditions, for death itself is easier than the fear of it. If you were truly sensible of the great desire I have of ending my days quietly with you, I flatter myself, your good nature would be contented to bear many inconveniences, and to let the rest of the world govern itself after its own method. This is the third time I have writ since my being here, and the post-master tells me, that not only those, but some of mine from Frankfort, are still on this side; so that I

shall not make this longer than by assuring you of my being, with all my heart and soul, &c." In another letter he writes thus:—"My dear soul; if I could begin life again, I would endeavour every hour to oblige you. But as we can't recal what is past, forget my imperfections; and as God has been pleased to bless me, I do not doubt but he will reward me with some years to end my days with you; and if that may be with quietness and kindness, I shall be much happier than I have ever yet been."

Long before his arrival in England, Marlborough had become sensible of the secret cabals of Harley and Mrs. Masham, and their rapid advances in the queen's favour. He grieved to learn, also, that her majesty still persisted in appointing the Tory bishops, who, in a letter to the duke, she expressly states, were her own choice. "They are certainly very fit for the station I design them," continues her majesty. "Indeed, I think myself obliged to fill the bishops' bench, with those that will be a credit to it and to the church." In fact, the queen was, during the greatest part of her reign, greatly to be pitied; being hemmed in on all sides by two parties, publicly, and many other parties privately, none of whom, with one or two exceptions, thought of any thing but their own interests. "I can think," said her majesty, in the letter just now quoted, "but of one thing; which is, a resolution to encourage all those, who have not been in opposition, that will concur in my service, whether they be Whigs or Tories; which is a thing that might be put in practice, believing it might do a great deal of good, and I am sure it is not for my service to disoblige anybody."

In answer to this, the duke wrote in a very earnest manner :—

“MADAM,—I had the honour of your majesty’s of the 25th of last month ; by which I find mine of the 29th to lord treasurer was read to you. I beg the justice of you to believe, that I am no ways concerned for the power, that the Whigs must have with you ; but the great concern that I must always have for your quiet and your safety ; for if you are served to your satisfaction and security, I am very indifferent who the persons are. And as you desire that I would speak freely, I do protest in the presence of God Almighty, that I am persuaded, that if you continue in the mind that I think you now are, and will not suffer those, that have the honour to serve you, to manage your affairs agreeably to the circumstances of the times, your business must inevitably run into confusion ; and, consequently, make it impossible for my lord treasurer to serve ; for if he is thought to have the power, when he has not, both parties will be angry with him, though both would admire him and be his friends, if he were out of the service. If I were with your majesty, I believe I could let you see the trouble and distraction you are likely to be in this winter, which you must prevent, before the meeting of parliament, or it will be too late. I find the Duke of Savoy, Prince Eugene, the Elector of Hanover, and the Emperor, are all desirous, that you would be pleased to allow me to continue as long on this side the water, as might be necessary for concerting the operations of the next campaign. This will make it impossible for me to be in England before the meeting of parliament ; and should I come at this time, it might create jealousies on this side the water. But as I prefer your quiet and service, above all other considerations, if your majesty thinks my being with you for one day or two, may be of any use, I am ready to obey. If I come in a yacht, one man of war shall be ordered to Ostend, and not be told what it is for ; for I would endeavour to be back with the army before the French should know I am gone for England. What I now propose will make so

much noise, that I beg you will be pleased to advise with my lord treasurer, before you send me your commands. It is impossible for me to finish this letter without assuring your majesty of what I know of Lady Marlborough, that nobody could serve you with more zeal and true affection than she has done for many years; and I must do her judgment that right, as to say she has foreseen some things, which I thought would never have happened; I mean concerning the behaviour of some in your service. I pray God to direct you in all things for your own good, and that of all Europe, that your own affairs may prosper and be glorious, as they have for some years, and I shall then enjoy all the happiness and quiet this world can give me."

Marlborough was very right in his assertion to Godolphin, that if he quitted office, not only the business at home, but the still more important one abroad, would very much suffer. "For," said he, "whatever the new schemers may think, the allies will expect nothing good from England, when they shall see that you and I have lost our credit, after having served with so great success." Matters, however, had proceeded farther than he had expected; for on arriving in England he found Mrs. Masham and Harley more dominant than ever. The latter in fact was a man of matchless insincerity. Even Dr. Somerville—himself a Tory, and an ardent one—admits this. "The part acted by Harley," says he, "exhibits a scene of dissimulation and duplicity, for which neither his sympathy with the sovereign, nor the unjustifiable conduct of the junto to her, nor the goodness of the end which he had in view,—supposing that to be admitted,—can afford any apology."

It was long before Marlborough and Godolphin had been able to persuade themselves, that all the time in which Harley appeared kind, grateful, and subservient to them, he was acting a mean and de-

ceitful part. Their eyes, however, at length were opened ; and when the former arrived in London, he was fated to find, that however violent the feuds in the cabinet might appear at a distance, they were greater and much more dangerous than he had been able in any way to anticipate. He found, in fact, that he had only exchanged one species of evil for another. When with the army, he was tormented with imbecilities : when in England, with factions of every species. We can only allude to the more prominent of these. The more violent Whigs had entered into a secret understanding with the more violent Tories : and Godolphin stood exposed,—almost single-handed,—not only to the obloquy both parties chose to throw upon him, but to the displeasure of the queen herself. The kingdom was disappointed at the disasters of the late campaign in Spain, and at Toulon. They were not satisfied, either, with the ministry, for not having some decisive exploit to record in the Netherlands.

The parliament, however, was opened with a speech from the throne, extenuating the failures of the campaign, and recommending vigour and unanimity ; since no other line of conduct could ever restore the prosperity of the grand alliance, or obtain a safe and honourable peace. This recommendation was met in the Commons by an unanimous address, assuring her majesty that no disappointment should discourage them from enabling her to reduce, in conjunction with her allies, the whole Spanish monarchy to the obedience of the lawful monarch.

In the House of Lords, however, great complaints were made in respect to the decay of trade, and the scarcity of money, the ill state and mismanagement

of the navy, and the great losses the merchants had sustained for want of convoys. In consequence of all which, the Lords passed a resolution for the whole house's going into committee to enquire into the state of the nation in regard to trade, and the late management of the fleet. The attack was opened by the Whigs with a charge against the admiralty; directing the most pointed insinuations against Admiral Churchill. The Tories, however, confined themselves chiefly to insinuations against the ministry at large: insisting that the public grievances were such, that they could not be removed by partial remedies. There must be a radical change in the government. Marlborough was present at these debates. He cared little for the attacks against himself; but he was greatly annoyed by those directed against his brother.

A few days after this, the affairs at Toulon and in Spain, more particularly the conduct of Lord Peterborough in that country, were brought before the house. Then ensued a debate on the state of the nation; which created so lively an interest in the public mind, that the queen herself went in disguise to listen to it. It closed with the house adopting an address, reported by the Duke of Bolton, in which the Lords recommended a vigorous prosecution of the war in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Savoy.

In a debate, which occurred shortly after, Lord Rochester took an opportunity of declaiming against the conduct of the war in the Netherlands; insisting that it ought to be conducted on the principle of defence, not of attack. "We seem," said his lordship, "to neglect the principal business, and to mind only accessories. I cannot forget the saying of a great general, the old Duke of Schomberg, 'that to attack

France in the Netherlands is taking a bull by the horns.' I, therefore, propose, that we should remain on the defensive in that quarter, and send from our army there 15 or 20,000 men into Catalonia."

Hearing this, Marlborough rose with great warmth, and insisted that so far from reducing the army in the Netherlands, there existed a positive necessity for its being increased. On which he was tauntingly interrupted by Rochester, who expressed wonder, that one, who had ever been conspicuous for calmness of tone and moderation of action, should, on this occasion, so evidently lose his temper. Marlborough immediately apologised for any warmth he might have been guilty of, and mildly justified it on the principle, that it was impossible to debate on so important a subject, without feeling strongly: and feeling strongly, it was natural, that he should in some degree express himself warmly. "Although," continued he, "it is improper to disclose secret projects in so numerous an assembly, because the enemy will not fail to be informed of them; yet I am authorised by the queen to gratify your lordships by the assurance that measures have been already concerted with the emperor, for forming an army of forty thousand men, under the command of the Duke of Savoy, and for sending succours to King Charles. It is, also, to be hoped that Prince Eugene may be induced to take command in Spain; in which case the Germans will gladly follow him. The only difficulty, which may be objected to this scheme, is the usual tardiness of the court of Vienna; and it must be admitted, that if the seven thousand recruits, which the emperor promised for Piedmont, had arrived in time, the enterprise against Toulon would probably have been attended with success. But I

dare engage my word, that, for the future, his imperial majesty will punctually perform his promises."

This reply and assurance softened Rochester, and he was politic enough to answer, that, had he known how all things had been managed, the debate might have been spared. The house then passed resolutions, of which this is the substance:—that "no peace could be reasonable or safe, either for her majesty or her allies, if Spain or the West Indies were suffered to continue in the power of the house of Bourbon." Also a hope that "her majesty would be pleased to continue her solicitations with the emperor, for this end, as well as for reinforcing the Duke of Savoy, and strengthening the army on the Rhine." In answer to these recommendations, the queen expressed her entire concurrence; and assured the house, that no peace could be safe or honourable, unless the whole monarchy of Spain was restored to the house of Austria.

Her majesty had now become sensible, that it was no longer wise to throw her patronage, so decidedly as she was disposed, over the Tories. She, therefore, personally in the cabinet, gave an assurance, that though she had too far engaged herself to recede from her promises, with regard to the two Tory bishops, she would, in future, promote no more of that party.

The charges against the admiralty were now to be encountered. Those in the House of Commons terminated in a resolution merely, that recommended her majesty, for the better security of trade, to appoint an additional number of cruisers. In the Lords, however, the matter was not terminated so easily; for though they expressed great respect for the lord-high admiral (Prince George), certain lords insisted, that one (whom they did not name, but who

was, in fact, Admiral Churchill,) had made "the worst use imaginable" of the confidence reposed in him by the lord high admiral. A censure on the admiral, however, did not pass; and as his history is, in other respects, little connected with that of the duke, we shall merely observe in respect to him, that on the death of his patron (Prince George,) the board of which he was a member was dissolved; Lord Pembroke was nominated lord high admiral; and in consequence he lost his office and influence, and retired into a life of privacy.

Harley, all this time, was in the depth of his intrigues: but two discoveries were at length made, which contributed greatly to his injury. One was a correspondence, carried on with France by one of Harley's clerks, named Gregg, whom he had taken into his particular confidence. Gregg was, in consequence, tried and executed. But it did not appear, that Harley was in any way privy to his treason. The other circumstance was, that two persons, whom he had employed as spies to go over to Calais, under the pretence of bringing him intelligence, were informed against, as spies employed by France, to get intelligence from England. These persons had been often complained of upon suspicion; but they were always protected by Harley; and this engendered great suspicion of Harley himself. The presumptions, however, against them were, at last, so violent, that they were seized and taken to prison.

Marlborough, having recommended Harley, in the first instance, to the queen's favour, as we have already recorded, could not bring his mind to think him an object of suspicion. At length, however, he perceived so many instances of dissimulation and duplicity, that he could no longer doubt, that, through

the agency of Mrs. Masham, he was forming a party and an administration of his own; and the better to ensure this, was creating a schism among those who supported the government; thereby endeavouring to restore the preponderance of the Tories. All this he was labouring to do in secret; making discreet use of both Whig and Tory, as either could assist him in his favourite scheme. Several things occurred, however, to awaken suspicion, and at length conviction. We have no space to enter into these circumstances: suffice to say, that being awakened, neither Marlborough nor Godolphin hesitated long as to the course they should pursue. They laid complaints before the queen; and insisted on Harley's being dismissed. And here, to their great mortification, though not much to their surprise, they found her majesty fixed in the resolution not to abandon her confidential adviser. Upon which the two ministers announced to her majesty that she must no longer consider them as her ministers. Marlborough signified his resignation in the following terms:—

“MADAM,—Since all the faithful services I have endeavoured to do you, and the unwearied pains I have taken for these ten days, to satisfy and convince your majesty's own mind, have not been able to give you any such impressions of the false and treacherous proceedings of Mr. Secretary Harley to Lord Treasurer and myself, but that your majesty is pleased to countenance and to support him, to the ruin of your own business at home; I am very much afraid it will be attended with the sorrow and amazement of all Europe, as soon as the noise of it gets abroad. And I find myself obliged to have so much regard to mine own honour and reputation as not to be every day made a sacrifice to falsehood and treachery, but most humbly to acquaint your majesty that no consideration can make me serve any longer with that man. And I beseech your majesty to look upon me, from this

moment, as forced out of your service, as long as you think fit to continue him in it. No heart is fuller of duty to your majesty than mine ; nobody has more sincere wishes for your 'prosperity, nor shall more constantly pray for your majesty's long life, and for your happiness both here and hereafter. I am always, with the greatest respect and the truest zeal for your service, &c. &c."

The queen, notwithstanding all this, remained immoveable. A circumstance, however, occurred a few days after, which entirely altered her resolution. A cabinet council having been called, notice was sent to Marlborough and Godolphin, as well as to the other members ; but when the council met, the two friends did not appear. The queen had taken her seat ; and Harley had opened the business of the meeting, when the Duke of Somerset started up, exclaiming—" I do not see how we can deliberate, when the commander-in-chief, and the lord treasurer, are not present." Harley, on this, became disconcerted. The queen remained silent. The duke, therefore, repeated his observation with some vehemence. Upon which her majesty, seeing the way in which the other members received the matter, sitting in a cold, sullen manner, broke up the council, and withdrew, "evidently angered," says Bishop Burnet, "alarmed and disappointed."

When these circumstances became known, great apprehension agitated the public mind. The queen remained obstinate nevertheless. She would not abandon her purpose. Harley, however, perceived the condition in which he stood. He entreated her majesty to accept his resignation ; and this entreaty was seconded by that of the Prince of Denmark. Her majesty saw, at last, the danger. She sent, therefore, for the duke. The duke answered the

summons ; and then her majesty, after many expressions, in which she indicated great anger and mortification, condescended to inform him, that Harley should no longer continue in her service. Upon this Harley immediately resigned the seals ; and St. John, who was secretary at war, followed his example.

When this event became known, great joy was expressed by a part of the public. Their satisfaction, however, was greatly moderated on learning, a few days after, that the French king had projected an invasion in order to restore the Pretender. An expedition, it was now understood, was fitting out at Dunkirk, consisting of 8 sail of the line, 24 frigates, and 66 long boats, with a considerable number of transports to convey 12 battalions, 13,000 stand of arms, and a store of military accoutrements.

The French king had conceived great hopes from this undertaking ; for he imagined that as soon as his fleet should set the Pretender on shore, in Scotland, the whole of that kingdom would rise in his favour. He thought, too, that, in consequence of the Pretender's landing, the queen would be compelled to draw at least 30 battalions from Flanders ; and this, he concluded, would soon oblige the States-general to accept such terms, as he should think proper to propose to them. All this vast project, however, he was doomed to see vanish into air ! Marlborough acted with his usual promptitude and vigour. Drafts were made from the horse and foot guards, and several regiments of infantry were ordered into Scotland, and others were commanded to be in readiness for embarkation on the north coast of Ireland. The admiralty, at the same time, despatched 26 men-of-war from Deal to lie off the Dunkirk coast. When the British fleet appeared, the French king was confounded. For the

English government having sent, as he knew, a large fleet to Portugal, he imagined that they had been so absurd and imbecile as to leave the coasts of England wholly undefended.

A gale drove the English fleet to sea. The French, taking advantage of this, gave signal for sailing. Their destination, however, having been anticipated, great was the surprise of the admiral, (De Forbin) when he reached the Frith of Forth, to see the English fleet, commanded by Sir George Byng, already arrived before him, ready to give him a reception. Finding this, De Forbin beat round the north of Scotland, with an intention of landing his troops in some more favourable place; but he was prevented by tempestuous winds; and, after the space of a month, thought himself happy in effecting a return to Dunkirk, with the loss of 4,000 men, from hardship and sickness.

For their decision and prudent conduct in this matter, the duke and Godolphin received great praise: Godolphin for the vigour and wisdom of the internal government; Marlborough for the judgment he had displayed in the disposing of the military force. The queen, too, became, in consequence of these dangers, more sensible of what she owed to her ministers; as well as the necessity of yielding to the impulse of public opinion.

In point of time we ought here to give the reader some account of the manner and conduct of the duchess: but we must defer it to a future opportunity; it not being convenient or proper to obstruct the course of our narrative, since a great event is hastening to engage our attention.

The storm, which threatened the kingdom, being happily dispelled, and the necessary measures for the

security of the government taken, the duke set out from London, on the 29th of March, again to take command of the army in the Netherlands. He embarked at Margate the same evening, and came in sight of the coast of Holland, at two o'clock next day. But no pilot being ready to carry the yacht in, he got into an open boat, landed at Maeslandt-Sluys; whence he went, and arrived at the Hague, the same day, late at night.

Before we go further, we must state that Marlborough had scarcely arrived in Holland, when he was importuned to return, both by Lord Godolphin and the duchess, in order to settle some points in regard to promotions, and other matters relative to the conduct adopted by the queen. These matters, however, were little better than personal; so that the reader must be satisfied with a mere allusion to them: it being proper for us to confine ourselves, for the present, to affairs, relating to the campaign, about to ensue. (1708.)

Prince Eugene reached the Hague two days before Marlborough. On learning that his illustrious friend had arrived, the prince sent him a compliment, and let him know, that he would make him a visit at nine the next morning. His grace, however, with the politeness natural to him, prevented his doing so by going to his residence at eight. At eleven; the prince returned the visit, and both went together to the house of the pensionary Heinsius. At three all parties dined with the Elector of Hanover's envoy; whither they were followed by a great crowd, anxious to see the two generals; more especially Prince Eugene; who, never having been in Holland before, raised an eager curiosity in all the inhabitants of that country to see him.

What the plans were, laid by these illustrious persons, it is by no means necessary to state. They will be seen by their developments. Having arranged them, as far as they were capable of arrangement, the duke and prince went to Hanover to confer with the elector. Here, to their great mortification, they discovered, that the elector had made up his mind not to resume his command on the Rhine. He indicated also a particular dislike to Prince Eugene; considering him as having been sent to usurp laurels, which he himself had hoped to acquire. Marlborough, however, did not fail to conciliate his assent.

The two friends now separated: Eugene going to Dresden, and afterwards to Vienna, to accelerate the preparations for the ensuing campaign; Marlborough to the Hague: whence, having communicated the result of his journey, he proceeded to the army, now assembling in the neighbourhood of Brussels. We must here state, that it was agreed by the generals, that one army should be formed on the Moselle, under Prince Eugene; another under Marlborough in the Netherlands; and that the ostensible project should be, an invasion on the side of Louvaine: but that the two armies should, ultimately, unite by a rapid march in the Netherlands; and then endeavour to compel the enemy to receive battle before they could receive reinforcements from quarters at a distance. A month's delay, however, took place, in consequence of having so many parties to consult on these measures. "See," said Marlborough, "the great advantage the King of France has over the allies. We have to consult the pleasure of many princes. He has nothing to consult but his own pleasure and will."

At length the arrangements were completed. In

the mean time the French king, having greatly increased his forces, suddenly gave the command of it to the Duke of Burgundy, with orders to Vendome to act under him. The duke was accompanied by the Duke de Berry, and the Pretender, (under the title of Chevalier de St. George,) who had returned from his unsuccessful expedition to Scotland. The army on the Rhine was given to the Elector of Bavaria, with the Duke of Berwick under him; and Marshal de Villars was appointed to command in Dauphiny. These changes surprised every one; but the French king hoped to derive great advantages from them. In this, however, he was doomed to some share of disappointment.

The strength of the two armies stood respectively thus:—that of the confederates consisted of 112 battalions, and 180 squadrons; with 113 pieces of cannon:—that of the French 124 battalions and 197 squadrons; their number of cannon we have not been able to ascertain. Before the armies, however, took the field, the French formed a plot for the surprisal of Antwerp: a plot which was discovered before it could take effect. “The first hint we received of this conspiracy,” says Marlborough, “was, by a letter intercepted at Brussels, while I was at Ghent. Several others have been since taken, all addressed to the Count of Bergulich, to whom they have been suffered to pass. But as they were not subscribed, we could not discover the author. Lastly, six days ago, we seized a woman, who put one of these letters into the post-office. She acknowledged the writer to be her son-in-law. He has escaped, and we are endeavouring to discover his accomplices. We have taken measures for the security of the place.”

There were several movements made after this

affair, that are not material to record. The two armies took the field. What Marlborough expected from the French force being committed to the Duke of Burgundy may be seen from a letter, which Godolphin wrote to him at this time. "I am of opinion, that the Duke of Burgundy, and the rest of the French princes that accompany him, will be rather a hindrance and a perplexity to M. de Vendome, and not any advantage : but I agree with you, that it may very soon be the occasion of some action, not so much for the superiority the French pretend to have, as from the impetuous temper of that prince, who is full of ambition and desire to get a reputation in the world."

Some difficulty now arose in respect to the Elector of Hanover. "Mr. Howe says," writes the duke soon after, "that the elector appears very much out of humour, and no ways fond of his journey. I pray God bless me with success; for I expect none from the Elector of Hanover."

Marlborough's head-quarters were now at Terbank, and though actively engaged in a thousand matters, he found time to write to the duchess; a letter from which we may learn something in regard to his affairs with the army, and something in respect to his affections at home.

"Whenever I have any reason, and my mind a little at ease, I make use of that time to write to my dear soul. The post does not go till to-morrow; but as I am that morning to see the left wing of horse, I make use of this time to tell you, that I am in my health, I thank God, as well as one of my age, and that has not his mind very much at ease, can be, for what I concerted with Prince Eugene will not be executed by fifteen days so soon as was resolved, which will be an advantage to the Duke of Vendome, by giving him time. But the slowness of the Ger-

mans is such, that we must always be disappointed. Our news from Spain is as favourable as we could expect, and by Lord Galway's letters we have nothing to fear on the side of Portugal. The Elector of Bavaria having been obliged to make a considerable detachment from his army for the Moselle, will, we hope, enable the Elector of Hanover to do something on the Rhine. By this time we flatter ourselves that the Duke of Savoy is taking the field. The greatest difficulty he will meet with is, the mountains he must pass before he can get into France. As for us in this country, we have a very good army, but the French think themselves more numerous ; however, I hope, with the blessing of God, that this campaign will not pass without some good success on our side. You will easily believe me, when I tell you, that I do, from my heart, wish that the favourable account, I now give you of the posture of our armies, may meet with no disappointment, and that this campaign may be successful, that I may have the happiness of being with you in quietness next summer, and for the remaining part of my life."

The two armies having remained eight days in their camp, Marlborough signified it to Prince Eugene:—"I have employed this time," said he, "in making an exact review of the troops, which are in so good a condition, that it would gratify your highness to see them." A letter, a few days after, from Eugene promised Marlborough that he might daily expect intelligence of his march. Just before this the duke had ordered a thanksgiving in the army for the past successes of the allies ; and prayers were offered up to implore a blessing upon the present campaign : and this affords us an opportunity of giving a passage from a short narrative of the life and actions of his grace, by an old officer in the army. "The service of God," says he, "according to the order of our church, is strictly enjoined by the duke's especial care ; and in all fixed

camps, every day, morning and evening, there are prayers : and on Sundays service is daily performed with all decency and respect, as well as in garrisons."

Marlborough now thought proper to inform the States as to the plan, he had concerted with Prince Eugene :—

" HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,—Having reflected on the situation of our affairs in this country, and considered those on the Moselle, and observing the little probability of supplying the army of Prince Eugene with all the requisites, so as to act offensively and with vigour ; and being confirmed in my opinion by a resolution of your high mightinesses, communicated to me by the deputies, I have imparted to Prince Eugene and Count Rechterin my opinion, that it will be more advantageous to the interests of the common cause for the army on the Moselle to join us, in Brabant, without delay ; and entreated them, should they be of my opinion, to communicate the same to the Elector of Hanover, and to begin their march as soon as possible. These measures being taken in conformity with the approbation of the field deputies, I doubt not but they will give notice to your high mightinesses. Nevertheless, I would not fail to inform you that I have just received, from Prince Eugene, intelligence, that his army commenced their march last Friday, the cavalry advancing by long forced marches, while the infantry followed rapidly ; and that it was his intention to arrive in our camp on the 5th or 6th, to concert with me the operations, according to our arrangement, that as soon as the cavalry shall approach, we shall move directly upon the enemy, and bring on a battle, trusting in God to bless our designs, and hoping that I shall soon have an opportunity of sending you good news."

The enemy, a little before this, had made a movement, which seemed to threaten Louvaine. The object of this was to conceal their real intentions ; founded on the discontent of the Flemish and Bra-

banTERS; which had been greatly excited by the government of the Dutch, which they considered exceedingly oppressive. The scheme against Antwerp, as we have already stated, had proved abortive; but it did not disconcert their general plan; and they, soon after, having a correspondence with the disaffected, surprised the towns of Ghent and Bruges, and threatened Brussels. They calculated, also, on reducing Oudenard, a place, in a military point of view, of very great consequence; because, added to its own strength, it was the chief avenue to the other fortresses, belonging to the allies, in Flanders; as well as the only channel of direct communication with England: added to which, were it to fall, it must involve the loss of all their conquests in that quarter. "The enemy, on the other hand," says Mr. Coxe, "seized on the most fertile and opulent district of Europe; and holding the fortresses on the Scheldt, would easily have baffled every attempt for their expulsion, flanked all direct attacks on French Hainault, and stripped of their value the advantages of the two preceding campaigns."

Such was the importance of Oudenard. The French having threatened Brussels, as we have just now stated, the alarm in that city became very great: even the army itself seemed disposed to censure the commander, as if what had happened was the consequence of his misconduct and neglect. Upon the first intelligence of the enemy's movement, Marlborough broke up from Terbank, and crossing the Senne and the canal of Brussels, encamped with his left at Anderlacht and his right at Tourbeck; and afterwards at Asch. There he learnt the enemy's success. Not only Brussels, but the army itself, became greatly alarmed; and Marlborough himself,

doubtless, felt the awkwardness of his position. At this trying moment, who should arrive but Prince Eugene! That prince was admired and beloved nearly as much as Marlborough himself. This appearance, therefore, gave great joy and confidence. Finding that he could not effect a junction in time, he had left his cavalry at Maestricht, and had hastened to take a personal share in the conflict about to ensue. "I am not without hopes," said Marlborough, on seeing his illustrious compeer, "of congratulating your highness on a great victory: for my troops will be animated by the presence of so distinguished a commander."

From the moment they met, the Prince and Marlborough appeared to be animated with a unanimity, as if but one soul had informed both their bodies. Eugene warmly approved the resolution, which his friend had adopted, of bringing the enemy, if possible, to an engagement; and the proposal being sanctioned by a council of war, pioneers were sent out, on every side, to clear the roads for the passage of the troops.

All being prepared for an engagement, Eugene took the opportunity of a few hours to pay a visit to his mother, then residing at Brussels; since he might, possibly, never see her again. As to Marlborough, he became so much indisposed, that he was compelled to issue orders through the medium of Overkirk. These orders among other things embraced the sending four battalions to reinforce the garrison at Brussels. The next day, however, he was so far recovered as to resume the arduous duties of command.

The immediate object of the French was to get possession of Oudenard. They invested it, therefore, on the morning of the 9th, and a heavy train of artil-

lery was ordered from Tournay; and, for the purpose of covering the siege, they prepared to occupy the strong camp of Lessines on the Dender. Here, however, the allies anticipated them: for breaking up from Asch, though the distance which they had to march was twice that of the enemy, they arrived at Lessines before them, threw bridges over the Dender, and effectually interposed between them and their own frontiers.

The French now retreated towards the Scheldt; and Eugene having returned, both generals resolved to bring the enemy to an instant engagement, if possible. When the enemy saw the rapidity of their next march, five leagues, through a close country, having to make their way, and pass over a great river, all in seventy-four hours,—they were confounded; having expected, that Marlborough would have contented himself with merely covering the great towns in his rear. Disappointed and disconcerted, and therefore discouraged, the French moved from the investment of Oudenard towards Grove, with a view to shelter themselves behind the Scheldt. We cannot enter into the separate movements of the respective armies. It is proper, however, to record a circumstance, which proved greatly injurious to the enemy, before the battle began. There had been, for some time, a misunderstanding between the Dukes of Burgundy and Vendome; and the hour of danger, instead of reconciling them, exasperated them the more. They differed greatly in opinion, and were both at a loss, what measures ought to be resolved upon, and what dispositions to make. This irresolution lasted till three o'clock on the day of battle; when most of the young commanders, having more fire than prudence, and who,

to make their court to the Duke of Burgundy, thwarted every thing that was proposed by the Duke de Vendome, declared loudly for an engagement, which, in a great measure, determined the Duke of Burgundy; and Vendome was in consequence compelled to submit. Their dispute lasted to the very moment of action.

In this battle (that of Oudenard) scarcely any artillery was used on either side: it was by musketry alone the battle was fought and decided. The enemy showed great courage and conduct at the beginning and in the heat of battle; but a retreat having been sounded, they took to flight in great disorder; and, had not night come on, the destruction would have been as great as the rout. "Had we been so happy," said Marlborough, "as to have had but two more hours of daylight, I believe we should have put an end to the war."

Prince Eugene rendered great assistance in this battle; he having been complimented by the duke with the command of the right. The electoral Prince of Hanover (afterwards George II.) distinguished himself; and Overkirk, also, obtained great laurels; but he was so unfortunate as to fall in the action. The Duke de Berry and the Chevalier St. George beheld the battle from the steeple of an adjacent village. The night was passed by the enemy in flight. The word had been no sooner given, as we have already stated, than generals and privates, horse and foot, hurried in the greatest disorder to Ghent; Vendome being able to persuade only 25 squadrons and some battalions to remain united; and with these he covered the flight of the crowd in person. The fugitives were assisted by a mistake on the part of the confederates. "In this

crisis," says Mr. Coxe, "darkness enveloped the contending hosts, and the positions were discernible only by the flashes of musketry, which rolled round the narrowing circle of the devoted army, till the right of Eugene and the left of the Prince of Orange approached the same point." In this position, the allies mistook each other for enemies, and the conflict "might have produced the most deplorable effects amidst the victorious ranks, had not the generals exerted themselves with unusual activity to put a timely stop to the fire." To prevent farther mischief, the troops were ordered to halt as they stood; and numbers of the enemy escaped in consequence.

The allied army having passed the night under arms, a most distressing sight appeared in the morning: "among several thousand corpses," we are told, "lay a prodigious number of wounded of different nations, enveloped in carnage and surrounded with the wreck of war. By the duke's orders, the utmost exertion was instantly made to collect the survivors, and to bestow on all, without remission, the care and relief which circumstances would permit. The agonies of suffering nature were thus soothed, and many were snatched from a lingering and painful death, to acknowledge the beneficence and bless the name of their conqueror." Most of the French wounded were carried to Oudenard, and attended with the same care as those of the allies.

There have been several accounts published in respect to the losses in this battle; but it appears that the truest is, that the enemy lost in killed and wounded 6,000, and 8,000 prisoners; and that the loss of the allies was computed at 3,500. The allies took, also, one hundred stand-

ards and colours. None of the English horse, however, were engaged in the battle : and only 6 pieces of artillery.

This battle was fought on the 11th of July, 1708. That it was fought with great valour and skill is certain ; but that it was also fought with no small hazard at the outset may, we think, be seen from what Marlborough says in his letter to Lord Godolphin :—

“I must ever acknowledge the goodness of God, in the success he has pleased to give us ; for I believe Lord Stair will tell you, they were in as strong a post as is possible to be found ; but you know when I left England, I was positively resolved to endeavour by all means to get a battle, thinking nothing else would make the queen’s business go on well. This reason only made me venture the battle yesterday ; otherwise I did give them too much advantage ; but the good of the queen and my country shall always be preferred by me, before any personal concern ; for I am very sensible if I had miscarried, I should have been blamed. I hope I have given such a blow to their foot, that they will not be able to fight any more this year.”

The victorious chiefs allowed the enemy little time for rest. The lines, which the French had constructed from Ypres to Warneton for the purpose of covering the country between the Scheldt and the Lys, were forced before Berwick could arrive to defend them. He was hastening, with all speed, for that purpose ; and a delay of six hours only might have caused the allies to be too late. In the mean time Eugene went to Brussels for the purpose of forwarding the march of his army, which had already reached its vicinity. On the part of the enemy, Vendome declared his resolution to defend Ghent to the last extremity ; even to the sacrifice of a strong garrison ;

and the Duke of Berwick arrived at Lille with a reinforcement to defend that citadel. Marlborough, however, felt disposed to believe, that the French would, of themselves, venture no more during the remainder of the campaign. The chief thing the Duke feared was,—for it was only by Ghent that he could get cannon by water,—that the enemy would venture all for the preservation of that town.

The manner in which the victory of Oudenard was received in England, may be gathered from a letter to the Duke from Mr. Craggs :—

“MY LORD,—As your glorious conduct must have altered the face of affairs in Paris, so it has disconcerted a world of knavish politics and designs here ; and I am sure that every body that told your grace the truth, must allow there never was a more stirring one ; which nothing under Heaven but your own great genius could have quelled. A very great peer was heard to say, that as this battle might be the occasion of reducing France, so it would give you such a power at home as might be very troublesome ; or words to this effect. But I hope in God, as your valour has restored the crown to a power of giving protection and doing justice to its subjects, that power will be maintained where it ought, in the queen and her ministers ; for such deliverances from tyranny abroad, and anarchy at home, are not to be hoped for every day. There has been no mail from Holland since my Lord Stair’s arrival, and the accounts were so ill related for two or three days, that the fine schemers and their allies, the disaffected, began to find ten thousand reasons against a total defeat, or having any great consequence from it. But by my Lord Stair’s journal, and three mails which came from Ostend to-day, these wise well-meaning persons have again changed their notes, and begin to cry Hosanna with the foremost. My lord, I do not speak this as my own observation only, but by the instigation of some very great and faithful friends of your grace’s, that when the differences shall be accommodated, which they will now very easily be, those who

have taken unreasonable opportunities to find unnecessary faults, may not carry it off with an air of having been the only and best well-wishers to the public good. For my own part, I have a full and perfect joy, that God Almighty has given these great blessings to us, by the means of your grace's unexampled conduct and valour, which, in defiance of all envy, hatred, and malice, which the devil can invent, or villanous man design, must be a pillar of glory to you and your memory, as long as annals and tradition do last; which brings me to beg leave to subscribe myself, &c."

Godolphin sought to remove the impression which this letter was likely to make on Marlborough's mind:—"I hope you will not, upon second thoughts, be so much disheartened by the idle notions and expectations of impossibilities, which you may hear of from hence. Something of this arises from malice and envy, and from a desire to raise expectations, which they think cannot be made good, and when the Tories talk at this rate, these are the true reasons of it. But you will consider besides, that it is the temper of our nation, confirmed by daily experience, that we are at the top of the house in prosperity; and in misfortune, indeed upon the least alarm, we are ready to sink into the earth."

A day of thanksgiving was appointed; and the queen went again to St. Paul's to return thanks. The Bishop of St. Asaph, afterwards Bishop of Ely, preached the sermon: from which we extract the following passage:—"That our forces were led by a commander, whom they loved to follow, and hazarded every thing to preserve a life, with which each soldier of the army thinks his own fast bound; by a princely captain, whom both in giving orders, and in heat of battle, they might not unhappily mistake for their own, so that they seemed to have their general

always in sight, because he was commonly in every place of danger ; by a most valiant, wise, and fortunate commander, crowned with fresh laurels every other year, because it seems they wither faster in our unkindly climate than elsewhere."

Soon after the battle, Marlborough received a letter from Lord Harvey, in which he quotes the following lines :—

" Success so close upon thy troops does wait,
As if thou first hadst conquered fickle fate ;
Since fortune, for thy righteous cause and thee,
Seems to have forgot her loved inconstancy."

" No envy or faction," wrote Mr. Maynwaring to her grace, " can reach a man that has gained three such battles ; of which our soldiers here say, the last is the most extraordinary, because the enemy were attacked in their march, which shows the abilities of a general, more than forcing a camp."

The malice of party, however, was very great ; and at no period of the queen's reign was it more rife than at this period. " By letters from England," says the duke, " I find I am in all ways to be found fault with ; for when I am lucky, I am negligent, and do not make use of the occasion ; and if I should ever prove unfortunate, no doubt I should run the risk of being a fool or a traitor." He was even accused of not doing justice to the merits of Eugene. The only answer he ever made to this accusation was, " I dare say Prince Eugene and myself shall never differ about our share of laurels."

In the midst of cares and anxieties, ever attending on the command of armies, Marlborough was injudicious enough to let domestic politics annoy him. Instead of attending entirely to military duties, he permitted his mind to be more than half engaged by interests

at home. The conduct of the ministry, and their success or non-success with the queen, shared his attention with Vendome and the Duke of Burgundy. Affairs at home frequently threw him even into absolute misery. In this he was, however, sometimes justified, for the country suffered. "I am very sorry," he said in a letter to the duchess, "to see by yours, that the queen is fonder of Mrs. Masham than ever ; I am sure, that as long as this is, there can be no happiness ; I mean quietness." "I am very sensible of the very unreasonable opinionatiery of the queen ; however, knowing the faults of those which were before her ; and what, I fear, will be in those that are to follow her, I do, from my heart, wish her a long and prosperous reign ; so that you must take pains ; for the happiness of England depends upon her doing what is right and just. Besides my love for my country, I own to you I have a tenderness for the queen ; being persuaded that it is the fault of those whom she loves, and not her own, when she does what is wrong. God has been pleased to make me the instrument of doing her again some service : I wish she may make a right use of it."

In a letter to the queen, he makes use of the following remarkable expressions :—

"As I have formerly told your majesty, that I am desirous to serve you in the army, but not as a minister ; I am, every day, more and more confirmed in that opinion ; and I think myself obliged, from all accounts, on this occasion to speak my mind freely to you. The circumstances in this last battle, I think, show the hand of God ; for we were obliged not only to march five leagues that morning, but to pass a river before the enemy, and to engage them before the whole army was passed, which was a visible mark of the favour of Heaven to you and your army. Your majesty shall be convinced from this

time, that I have no ambition, or any thing to ask for myself or family ; but I will end the few years I have to live, in endeavouring to serve you, and to give God Almighty thanks for his infinite goodness to me. But, as I have taken this resolution to myself, give me leave to say, that I think you are obliged in conscience, and as a good Christian, to forgive, and to have no more resentment to any particular person or party ; but to make use of such as will carry on this just war with vigour, which is the only way to preserve our religion and liberties, and the crown on your head ; which, that you may long enjoy and be a blessing to your people, shall be the constant wish and prayer of him, that is with the greatest truth and duty," &c.

The duchess, however, had so misconducted herself towards the queen, that a strong dislike had thrust from the queen's heart the strong affection she had, for so many years, entertained for her. When the news of this last battle arrived, too, her grace acted in a manner, it is impossible to extenuate. She wrote to the queen informing her majesty of the victory, and then made a commentary upon it, in which she was so injudicious, as well as ungrateful, as to reflect upon the queen, hinting, or rather stating in broad terms, that her majesty had been far from sufficiently grateful to the person, who had been the instrument of so many successes. The queen answered this in as strong terms, as the duchess herself had used ; and then wrote to the duke, to desire him to explain what was meant by the words—" If I would please to make use of it." This letter Marlborough answered thus :—

" Your majesty might see by the shortness of the letter that was shown you, that I was in great haste when I writ it, and my fullness of heart for your service made me use that expression. What I then meant, as I must always

think, is, that you can make no good use of this victory, nor, of any other blessing but by following the advice of my Lord Treasurer, who has been so long faithful to you ; for any other advisers do but lead you into a labyrinth, to play their own game at your expense. Nothing but your commands should have obliged me to say so much, having taken my resolution to suffer with you, but not to advise, being sensible that if there was not something very extraordinary, your majesty would follow the advice of those that have served you so long faithfully and with success."

The queen at this time, however, was not to be altered ; and her conduct to the Whigs inflamed them to such a height, that they determined on inviting the electoral prince to come over and reside in England. To avoid this, the queen resorted to Marlborough, enjoining him to save her from so great a mortification.

" I cannot end this," said her majesty, " without giving you an account, in short, of a visit I had from Lord Haversham. He told me his business was, to let me know there was certainly a design laying between the Whigs and some great men, to have an address made in the next session of parliament, for inviting the electoral prince over to settle here ; and that he would certainly come to make a visit, as soon as the campaign was over. And that there was nothing for me to do, to prevent my being forced to do this (as I certainly would), but by showing myself to be queen, and making it my own act. I told him, if this matter should be brought into Parliament, whoever proposed it, whether Whig or Tory, I should look upon neither of them as friends, nor would ever make any invitations, neither to the young man, nor his father, nor his grandmother. What I have to say upon this subject, at this time, is, to beg you would find whether there is any design where you are, that the young man should make a visit in the winter ; and contrive some way to put any such thought out of his head, that the difficulty may not be brought upon me, of refusing him leave to come, if he

should attempt it ; for one of these two things I must do, if either he or his father should have any desire to have him see this country, it being a thing I cannot bear, to have any successor here, though but for a week. And therefore I shall depend upon you to do every thing on the other side of the water, to prevent this mortification from coming upon her, that is, and ever will be, most sincerely, &c. &c."

On the receipt of this appeal, Marlborough refused to countenance the plan, proposed by the Whigs. "You may depend upon my joining with them," said he in a letter to the duchess, "in opposition to the Tories in all things ; but as to the invitation, or what else may be personal to the queen, in regard to myself, as well as concern for her, I must never do any thing, that looks like flying in her face." Thus determined, he thought he could in no way prove his sincerity to the Whigs, and combat the obstinacy of the queen, so well as by offering to resign.

"I am doing my best," he wrote to the duchess, "to serve England and the queen, and, with all my heart and soul, I pray for God's protection and blessing ; but I am so tired of what I hear, and what I think must happen England, that I am every day confirmed, that I should be wanting in myself, and ungrateful to God Almighty, if I did not take the first occasion that can be practicable, to retire from business. And as I have for several years served my queen and country with all my heart, so I should be glad to have some time to recollect and be grateful for the many mercies I have received from the hand of God. I would not live like a monk, but I can't with patience think of continuing much longer in business, having it not in my power to persuade that to be done, which I think right. I foresee the difficulty of retiring during the war, which is my greatest trouble at this time ; but even that difficulty must be overcome, if I must be in some manner answerable for the notions of the queen,

who is in no ways governed by any thing I can say or do. God knows who it is, that influences; but as I love her and my country, I dread the consequences."

The queen assured the duke, that his offer of resigning, as well as that of Godolphin, was by no means agreeable to her. With many other expressions, well worthy of note, her majesty said:—

"You may flatter yourselves that people will approve of your quitting; but if you persist in these cruel and unjust resolutions, believe me, where one will say you are in the right, hundreds will blame you. Lord Treasurer has gone to make a visit to 42, where the town says he will meet with four or five gentlemen, who, I can never be satisfied, mean well to my service, till they behave better than they did in the last parliament, and have done ever since the rising of it; for from that minute they have been disputing my authority, and are certainly designing, when the new one meets, to tear that little prerogative the crown has to pieces. And now because my servants and I set up one, they formerly liked, to be speaker, they are against him, for no reason, I suppose, but because they will have none in any employment, that does not entirely depend on them. Now, how is it possible, when one knows and sees all these things, as plainly as the sun at noon-day, ever to take these into my bosom? For God's sake, do but make it your own case, and consider then what you would do, and why a handful of men must awe their fellow subjects. There is nobody more desirous than I to encourage those Whig friends that behave themselves well; but I do not care to have any thing to do with those friends that have shown themselves to be of so tyrannising a temper; and not to run on farther on those subjects. To be short, I think things are to come to, whether I shall submit to the five tyrannising lords, or they to me. This is my poor opinion on the disputes at present, which could not be, if people would weigh and state the case just as it is, without partiality on one side or the other, which I beg for the friendship you have ever professed for me, you would do;

and let me know your thoughts of what may be the best expedient, to keep me from being thrown into the hands of the five lords*."

The duke wrote a very calm, yet energetic reply ; in which he said, that his desire of retiring arose almost solely from his perceiving that he could no longer be of any service to her Majesty : for that she had proved to every one, that she no longer put trust and confidence in him ; nor had any longer a reliance on his opinion and judgment ; and that to continue in her council to advise, without credit enough to prevail upon her to follow good advice, would only expose him and his reputation in the world, by making him answerable for the follies of other persons.

Before this answer was able to reach the queen, her majesty and the duchess had come to an open quarrel. The circumstances were these. The duchess, as mistress of the robes, had arranged the jewels to be worn by the queen, at the solemn *Te Deum*, celebrated on account of the victory of Oudenard. The queen did not approve the arrangement of them ; and this the duchess ascribed to the ill offices of Mrs. Masham. As they went to St. Paul's, too, the Duchess made use of some expressions, to which the queen replied in a tone, which induced the duchess to request, that her majesty would terminate the conversation, lest some one should overhear her. When they returned, she wrote to the queen, and her majesty sent a cool and dignified, yet sarcastic reply, on which the duchess wrote again : saying—" Though I have always writ to you as a subject, and lived with you as such, for so many years, with

* The punctuation of the queen and the duke has been invariably observed. The spelling of the duke, however, has been improved.

all the truth and honesty and zeal for your service that was possible, yet I shall never forget that I am your subject, nor cease to be a faithful one."

Not long after this, the duchess had an interview with the queen; and this interview is truly stated to have set the seal to her indiscretion. Both parties were loud and violent; both shed tears; and the interview closed with the duchess's dismissal, "with every proof of contempt and indignation," as her grace afterwards confessed in a letter to the duke.

We must now return to the Continent. Lille had become a place of great importance to both parties: and Marlborough, in consequence, formed the plan of masking that town, and penetrating through the northern frontiers, into the heart of France. The country was open to him. But even Eugene thought the design too bold. He esteemed it even impracticable, until Lille could be obtained for a place of arms and magazine. Both were convinced, that they could not commence a peace this year; and that it could not be hoped for till the next. "The alarm is, nevertheless," said the duke, "very great in France; so that we should bring them to reasonable terms, if Holland would let us act as we ought to do."

The Dutch deputies, however, though averse to the idea of penetrating into France, were unanimous, in common with Marlborough and Eugene, that Lille ought to be besieged. The fortifications were exceedingly strong; and Vauban, under whose superintendence they had been constructed, had drawn up a project for their defence. It was the key of the country, watered by the Lys and the Scheldt, with which river it was connected by canals; and its command was entrusted to Marshal Boufflers, governor of Flanders, and a general particularly skilful in defence.

Added to all this, it was situated in a swampy plain, watered by several streams, and defended by 15,000 men. Nor were all these the only circumstances, that rendered the siege difficult. The season was far advanced, and the hostile army was not only superior to that which was to cover the siege, but it commanded all the water communications with the nearest part of Holland.

To engage this fortress there were assembled at Brussels 94 pieces of cannon, 60 mortars, and above 3000 waggons of ammunition; the draught-horses required for which were estimated at 16,000. The convoy occupied a line of 15 miles, and had to traverse not less than 25 leagues. The object of the confederates was to secure its march: that of the enemy to obstruct it. So perfect, however, were the skill and vigilance of the allied generals, that the march was effected without so much as losing a single carriage, and without affording the enemy an opportunity of making an attempt upon it, though their army consisted of 100,000 men. "This fact," observes Feuguières, "will scarcely be believed by posterity."

The fame of this siege excited universal attention, and drew to the spot many celebrated persons; amongst whom were the dethroned king of Poland, and his natural son, afterwards so celebrated as Marshal Saxe, then only 12 years of age, and who had secretly departed on foot from Dresden, and reached the army unhurt. Munich and Scheverin were there; and, also, the young Prince of Hanover, afterwards George the Second.

Want of space prevents our entering into the particulars of this siege; for we have many other important matters to relate. We can only note

results, as it were. The first investment of the town was made by Prince Eugene. The Dukes of Burgundy and Vendome, leaving a flying camp of 20,000 to protect Ghent and Bruges, crossed the Scheldt, and formed a junction with Berwick. Their united forces exceeded 110,000 men, and some of the allied generals were greatly in hopes, that, in the confidence of strength, they would make their boasting good. Marlborough, however, feared they would not. He even thought it probable, that the town and citadel might cost double the time that was expected in England and Holland. Vendome would have engaged; but to this Berwick objected; and upon reconnoitring the allies, for the last time, Vendome perceived, that it was too hazardous; and Berwick admitted afterwards, that, had Marlborough not been restrained by the Dutch deputies from becoming assailant at that hour, the French army must have received not only a check, but a fatal and inevitable overthrow. "If the French," wrote the duke to the Prince of Denmark, "had complied with their threats, I might now have given your royal highness an account of the success of a battle. We drew up the army twice before them, and gave them fair opportunities of coming to us."

The siege proceeded with a slowness, that ill accorded with the impatience of Marlborough. He even complained not only of misconduct in the engineers, but of treachery: and thought that till the fate of Lille was determined, it would be impossible to bring the enemy to any thing like a general engagement. At length an attack was made upon several counterscarps. Prince Eugene placed himself in an advanced battery to animate the troops by his presence. The signal being given, they

rushed to the attack. The onset was terrible, and the struggle sanguinary. It terminated, however, in a victory; but the victory was not gained without great loss, and Eugene himself was so severely wounded, that, the next day, Marlborough was compelled to superintend the siege in person; when he discovered, to his surprise, what had been unknown to Eugene, that there did not remain powder and ball for more than four days! Alarmed at this, the Dutch deputies importuned the duke to abandon the siege. Supplies, however, were obtained from Ostend by the excellent management of Generals Webb and Cadogan; and just when the French had succeeded in capturing a considerable magazine at Nieuport, Lille, after 60 days' siege, surrendered: Prince Eugene, who had returned to the command, treating the garrison with all the generosity their brave defence so justly merited.

Though the city was taken, the citadel still remained; and the enemy formed a plan for relieving it, or making themselves master of Brussels. For this purpose the Elector of Bavaria was recalled from the Rhine, and appeared before the walls of that town; and all the French considered it impossible that the allies could come to its defence, in consequence of the French main army being interposed in their strong-hold behind the Scheldt, which they had been three months in fortifying. Marlborough and Eugene, however, forced the passage of the Scheldt, and defeated the enemy's design by a series of movements, which are said to be some of the most masterly in military history.

Having accomplished this in conjunction with Marlborough, Prince Eugene returned to Lille to prosecute the siege of the citadel. Marlborough, in

the meantime, proceeded to Brussels, to take measures for continuing the supplies to the army at Lille ; and while there, he took great pleasure in testifying his satisfaction to the governor and the garrison for the brave defence they had made of the city, during the time the French were before it ; and about this time he wrote to Godolphin, in which he says, "some people may be angry ; but Prince Eugene and myself shall have the inward satisfaction of knowing, that we have struggled with more difficulties, and have been blessed with more success, than ever was known before in one campaign."

While Marlborough was anxiously expecting the surrender of the citadel, his mind was active in forming plans for the recovery of Bruges and Ghent. "I am now struggling with my own health and the season," wrote his grace to the duchess, "that if it be possible to finish the campaign with the taking of Ghent and Bruges, which, if God blesses us with success, I think we may, without vanity, say, that France will, with terror, remember this campaign for a long time ; there never having been any, in which there has been such a variety of actions." At length the besieged beat a parley ; the garrison were permitted to capitulate ; and, on the 9th of December, marched out with all the honours of war.

Thus ended this remarkable siege, which has been considered by most military persons as one of the longest and most sanguinary in modern warfare. In respect to Boufflers, the commander, both Marlborough and Eugene paid him all the respect due to one who had defended the place in a manner not only to ensure the gratitude of his sovereign, but the respect and admiration of those who conquered him. The siege, unfortunately, however, had not been

carried on without a great sacrifice of lives: the garrison having lost 8,000 men: the conquerors, in killed, wounded, and sick, 14,000!

The season had become late; viz. December; and the French king naturally thought, that the allies would be satisfied with what had been done, and would now retire into winter quarters. He gave orders, therefore, to his generals, to strengthen the garrisons at Ghent and Bruges, and then go into winter quarters themselves. Marlborough, however, scarcely stopped a day; he invested Ghent; and that town was not long before its garrison surrendered; although it was so strong, that when the troops marched out, and Marlborough saw their numbers and condition, he could not refrain from expressing his surprise, that a place of such consequence should be surrendered at such a season,—favourable to the besieged but unfavourable to the besiegers,—and with so little loss. Learning the fall of Ghent, the enemy abandoned Bruges; and thus terminated this extraordinary campaign; the enemy having lost at the end of it all that they had gained in the beginning and during the course of it.

Marlborough and Eugene now arranged their plans for winter quarters; and having done so, both proceeded through Brussels to the Hague; leaving the command to Count Tilly. "I must go," said his grace in a letter to Godolphin, "with Prince Eugene, for some days, to the Hague: after which, I shall take a little care of my health." "I desire," he continues, "you will give my humble duty to her majesty, and assure her, that I do, with all my heart, pray, that the Almighty God may bless her arms, the next campaign, as visibly as he has been pleased to do in this."

The campaign being closed, we may now refer to an offer, which, in the midst of it, Marlborough had received from King Charles of Spain : viz. to nominate him governor of the Netherlands for life. The king's letter being of a striking character, we think proper to transcribe it. It is dated Barcelona, August 1 :—

“MY LORD DUKE AND PRINCE,—If your letter of June 26th, delivered to me by General Stanhope, had not been very agreeable to me, you may believe, my lord, that I was transported with one, which I have received from the Duke of Savoy, announcing to me the recent victory at Oudenard. I want expressions to testify the share I take in this new glory, which is added to your skill, merit, and courage. Since all your great actions in this war have had no other object than the recovery of my monarchy, you may judge of my heartfelt gratitude to you, for the beneficial effects to my cause, which must result from this glorious victory, not less perhaps than the reduction of my whole monarchy, if you will continue the same vigour in the prosecution of the war one year more. Thus, my lord, it seems that to the hand, which has secured the liberty of Germany and the Netherlands, Spain will also owe hers. With this confidence, you will find me, my prince, always willing to renew the patent for the government of my Low Countries, which I sent you two years ago, and to extend it for your life. You may depend on the fulfilment of my royal word ; and be assured that I will, in conformity with this promise, expedite the despatches, as soon as I am in possession of Madrid. I need not recommend to you the propriety of maintaining this secret, as well from the consideration due to the Elector Palatine, as from a fear of giving umbrage to the States.”

This offer, though extremely flattering and agreeable to him, Marlborough thought proper to decline; his reasons for which may be gathered from the following extract from a letter to Godolphin :—“ This must be known to nobody but the queen; for, should it be known before the peace, it would create incon-

veniences in Holland, and I beg to assure the queen, that it is not compliment, but real duty, that when the peace happens, if she shall not think it proper for her honour and interest that I accept of this great offer, I will decline it with all the submission imaginable." In a letter to the duchess he makes use of an exceedingly strong and affectionate expression:—"As to what you say of the offer of King Charles to me, my thought is the same with yours; that I had rather live a quiet life with your love and kindness, than with the most ambitious employment any prince can give." The reader will soon learn how the duke kept to his resolution; and, above all, how his Spanish majesty kept to his.

His grace had not been long at the Hague, when he received a visit from Mr. Craggs, who had been appointed by Godolphin and the Whigs to acquaint him with the state of affairs in England. A party had been formed against the Prince of Denmark, as lord high admiral; and a resolution was entered into to get rid of his favourite, Marlborough's brother (the admiral); and vain it was that the Lord Treasurer endeavoured to stem it. It became indeed at last, evident, that, unless Lord Somers was admitted to office, the prince would be sacrificed. This excited great alarm in the mind of the queen; and she, therefore, notified to Lord Godolphin an unqualified acquiescence in the demands of the Whigs. Before any thing, however, could be effectually done, the Prince died; having been long sinking under a mortal disorder. Godolphin wrote instantly to Marlborough, urging his immediate return to England. In the mean time Lord Somers was appointed president of the council; Lord Wharton, lord lieutenant of Ireland; and Lord Pembroke, lord high

admiral. The first of these appointments seems to have been at the instance of the duke: for we find Lord Somers immediately after writing to him in the following terms:—

“I do not pretend to acquaint your grace with the honour the queen has been pleased to do me in admitting me into her service; but rather to return my humble thanks to you on that account, since I am well assured, without your grace’s concurrence, nothing of that sort had been done. I hope your grace will believe, that according to my poor capacity, I will serve her majesty diligently and faithfully, and that I shall always be with the utmost truth and respect, &c.”

The illness of the prince had given the duchess an opportunity of renewing her attention to the queen. She herself has recorded this matter, but as an extract from that account would be too long or too incomplete, we adopt an abstract. On learning the death of the prince, the duchess wrote to the queen in the following manner:—

“Though the last time I had the honour to wait upon your majesty, your usage of me was such as was scarce possible to imagine, or for any body to believe, yet I cannot hear of so great a misfortune and affliction to you as the condition in which the prince is, without coming to pay my duty, in enquiring after your health; and to see, if, in any particular whatsoever, my service can either be agreeable or useful to you, for which satisfaction I would do more than I will trouble your majesty to read at this time.”

A few hours after she had sent this letter, learning that the prince was much worse, the duchess travelled all night, and arrived at Kensington the following morning. She then had an interview with the queen. Her majesty received her “very coolly, and like a stranger.” She went again on the next morning,

and was present when the prince expired. She led her majesty from the room soon after, and knelt down and continued some time in that posture, attempting to soothe the queen's grief. Her majesty then gave the duchess a watch, and desired her to send Mrs. Masham, and to return herself, when the hand had reached a particular point. This her grace did not comply with, being shocked at the preference ; but she ordered her own carriage for her majesty's use, and at the appointed time returned, saying that the queen could send for Mrs. Masham, when she got to the palace. As they passed from the closet, however, the favourite appeared. The queen gave her a look of affection and passed on to the carriage, when the duchess attended her majesty to St. James's. Nothing was gained by this attendance on the part of the duchess ; except, as her grace confesses, in the account she left of this matter, the mortification of seeing the decline of her own influence, and the superior favour of the rival she despised.

While at the Hague, Marlborough induced the Dutch government to consent to an augmentation of force, and he obtained from the emperor a promise that his troops should winter in the Netherlands ; and that succour should be sent from Naples to Spain : but he was unable to conciliate the Duke of Savoy, or to reconcile him with the court of Vienna. He made satisfactory arrangements, however, with the King of Prussia, through the medium of General Grumbkow, for the continuance and augmentation of his troops for the next campaign ; and he would have immediately embarked for England, but, learning that the King of France had recently opened negotiations for peace with the Dutch, he thought it not only proper but indispensable that he

should remain at the Hague to watch the conduct of it.

While there, the following anecdote is recorded of him :—"Riding out one day with Commissary Maniot, it began to rain, and the duke called for his cloak ; Maniot having had his put on by his servant in an instant. The duke's attendant not bringing the cloak, he called again ; but the man still continued puzzling about the straps and buckles. At last the rain increased very much, and the duke repeated his call, adding, what was he about, that he did not bring the cloak ?—" You must stay,' grumbled the man, ' if it rains cats and dogs, till I can get at it.' The Duke only turned to Maniot, and said, smiling—" I would not be of that man's temper for all the world." This is an anecdote that Plutarch would have been happy to have had the opportunity of recording of any hero of ancient times. " Small touches are, sometimes, deep strokes."

On the meeting of Parliament, a vote of thanks were voted to Marlborough by the two houses, not only for his great and eminent services in the last "successful campaign," but for his "indefatigable zeal and perseverance in the common cause." This vote being transmitted to the duke, while at Brussels, he immediately answered it in the following terms :—

"Sir,—I am extremely sensible of the great honour which the House of Commons has done me, in the vote you have been pleased to transmit me by their order; nothing can give me more satisfaction than to find the services I have endeavoured to do the queen and my country, are so acceptable to the House of Commons. And I beg the favour of you to assure them, I shall never think any pains or perseverance too great, if I may, by God's blessing, be instrumental in producing a safe and honourable peace for her majesty and my fellow-subjects."

Notwithstanding the two houses had voted thanks to the duke, a plan was formed to censure the ministry for their conduct during the late invasion. This attempt, however, was too absurd to be successful. The queen's dislike to Godolphin, nevertheless, now began to exhibit itself in a more evident manner—she having turned on him the resentment she fostered against the obnoxious party—than it had ever before done ; for the queen showed a strong dislike to promote any one, recommended either by him or the duke. The whigs made complaints and exhibited their jealousies ; the Lords Halifax and Sunderland became greatly dissatisfied, and the resentment of the duchess against the whigs became so strong and violent, that Marlborough felt no small difficulty as to the manner in which he should act.

At length she gave him good reasons, and he felt no small satisfaction when the duchess signified to him that her mind had undergone a great and salutary change in regard to them. Somers she described as repulsive ; Halifax as ambitious, petulant, and vain ; and, as to Sunderland, “ she could find no terms sufficiently strong to express her abhorrence.” The terms, she had before used in respect to the tories, were now thrown upon the whigs ; for both became convinced that the heads of the whig party were paying court through the medium of Harley and Mrs. Masham ; and that the queen's intimacy and conversation leaned only on those, who were enemies to all that was most useful to the public service. Such also was the opinion of Godolphin. “ I don't use to trouble you,” said Godolphin, “ with complaints of my own circumstances, but so much advantage is taken of your absence, and I suffer so much, that I must give myself the vent of saying, the life of a

slave in the galleys is paradise in comparison of mine. But at first the campaign would not let you come; afterwards the States would not let you come; and now God Almighty won't let you come;—so I must yield to fate.”

Such was the state of parties in England. Marlborough, however, was amply employed where he was. The negotiations for peace were going on in a clandestine manner between France and Holland; the French king having made secret overtures to those chiefs of the republic, who had been all along inclined to peace; to ensure whose concurrence he affected a willingness to give up Spain, the Indies, the Milanese, and the Netherlands, for the quiet possession, for his grandson, of the Two Sicilies. At the very moment Louis was offering all this, he was guilty of so great a duplicity as to apply to the emperor, through the medium of the pope, offering to yield to the Archduke Charles, the Spanish territories in Italy, with the Netherlands, provided Philip was permitted to keep Spain and the Indies.

Soon after Marlborough had become acquainted with what the French king was offering to the emperor, Buys and the burgomaster of Amsterdam confidentially imparted to him what proposals he had made to them. Having done which, they desired Marlborough to remember to what a condition Holland was reduced by the burthens of the war, and urged the necessity of a peace. They, at the same time, declared, as they had repeatedly done before, that nothing should be done, without the queen's concurrence. On hearing this, Marlborough requested permission to lay the overtures before the queen, through the lord treasurer; all parties being bound to secrecy. This was granted, and they were

sent over to England; Marlborough, at the same time, giving his opinion to Godolphin, that an honourable peace could be obtained only in one way; viz., by action in the field. Having signified which, the duke took his departure from the Hague, and, embarking at Ostend, arrived in London on the 1st of March (1709).

He made his appearance in the House of Lords on the next day; when the chancellor addressed him with thanks from the peers; closing a highly complimentary address with these words:—"I shall not be thought to exceed my present commission, if, by being thus led to contemplate the mighty things your grace has done for us, I cannot but conclude with acknowledging, with all gratitude, the providence of God in raising you up to be an instrument of so much good, in so critical a juncture, when it was so much wanted." The duke answered—"My Lords, I hope you will do me the justice to believe, there are very few things, that could give me more satisfaction than the favourable approbation of my services by this House; and I beg leave to assure your lordships, it shall be the constant endeavour of my life to deserve the continuation of your good opinion."

Marlborough took little part in the proceedings of Parliament, during his stay in England. There was one act, however, that greatly interested many persons; even Marlborough and Godolphin themselves. This was an act of grace. It was proposed by Sunderland; and placed all those at ease, who had in any way corresponded with the exiled family.

Notwithstanding the honours he had received from the Lords, as well as from the Commons, Marlborough was chagrined to find that the influence of Mrs.

Masham not only continued, but even increased ; and that the queen became daily more cold towards the treasurer and more inveterate against the whigs. He was, also, greatly mortified to find that the more the favourite's influence increased, the more homage she received from all persons, surrounding the court. He found, also, that the whigs were meditating to extend their influence, by placing Lord Orford at the head of the admiralty. But what added still more to his mortification was, he had, we are told, the melancholy reflection to perceive, that "his victories began to lose their splendour in the eyes of a capricious public ; that he was accused more than ever of prolonging the contest from selfish motives ; that the sovereign herself had ceased to take an interest in the triumph of her arms, and that impatience of the public burdens, and even the want of foreign luxuries, outweighed, in the consideration of many, all regard for national liberty, and the safety of their country."

In the meantime the negotiations for peace were going on in Holland, and Marlborough was intrusted with the conduct of it on behalf of England ; Rouillé having been previously dispatched to Holland by the King of France, with powers to offer such terms as he hoped would be acceptable to the allies.

The proposals, then offered, however, were vague and unsatisfactory, and Rouillé, in consequence, returned to Paris for further instructions ; and Prince Eugene and Count Singendorff were sent to the Hague. Marlborough, also, went to that place ; having Lord Townsend as joint plenipotentiary. The negotiations were then renewed ; the Marquis de Torcy, secretary of state, having taken the place of M. Rouillé. This nobleman, so far from acting with candour towards the assembled negotiators, actually

offered Marlborough a bribe! That is, he offered him, in the name of the King of France, 2,000,000 of livres, if he could obtain Naples and Sicily for Philip; or Naples alone; or the preservation of Dunkirk, or of Strasburg; or if all could be obtained together with Landau, he offered to double that sum; pledging the word and honour of the king for its payment.*

* The king's instructions to the marquis were in the following terms:—"I do not in the least question but you avail yourself of the opportunities you have of seeing the Duke of Marlborough, to let him know that I have been informed of the steps he has taken to hinder the progress of the conferences of peace, and even to break them off entirely; that I have been so much the more surprised thereat, as I had reason to believe, from the assurances he had already given, that he was willing to contribute to this end; that I should be glad his conduct was such as to deserve the reward I have promised him; and, in order that you may be able to come to a clearer explication, I am willing you should give him a positive assurance, that I will remit two millions of livres to him, if by his good offices he can obtain one of the following conditions for me:—To preserve Naples and Sicily for the king my grandson, or at the utmost extremity to preserve Naples only. I should make him the same gratification were he to preserve Dunkirk under my obedience, with its harbour and fortifications, without even Naples or Sicily; the same for preserving Strasburg only, excepting fort Kehl, which I shall give up to the empire in the state it was when first I conquered it, or, in short, in the state it was in when restored to my obedience; and also without preserving Naples or Sicily. But of all these different expedients, the obtaining of Naples for my grandson is that which I should like the best. I should consent to extend this recompense to three millions, if he obtained Naples for my grandson, and at the same time I was permitted to keep Dunkirk with its fortifications and harbour. If I were obliged to relinquish the article of Dunkirk, I should give him the same sum, could he contrive so as to preserve Naples and Strasburg, in the manner as above explained, and Landau with its fortifications, by giving up Brisac; or even could I be allowed to keep Strasburg and Dunkirk, both in their present condition. In short, I am willing you should offer the Duke of Marlborough four millions, should he enable me to keep Naples and

It must be confessed, that the conduct of Marlborough, at this juncture, was not sufficiently dignified: being merely that of a courtier. He returned no answer to the proposal; changed the conversation whenever it was resumed; and by the manner in which he adhered to his instructions, proved to the marquis, that it was as impossible to prevail over him by bribery, as to beat him in the field. It has been contended, however, that an expression of indignation was not called for: that in making the offer, Torcy only obeyed the orders of his sovereign, whose money had formerly been graciously received in England, both by the prince on the throne, and the patriots in opposition; and that the English government had been accustomed, through the agency of Marlborough himself, to employ the same golden arguments with the ministers of the allied powers. "The offer, then," the apologists go on to remark, "was not an insult, as it would be in our days. Torcy acted conformably to the times, when he made it; and Marlborough conformably to himself, when he received it with silent disdain, and pursued the business of the meeting with unalterable temper."

The preliminaries were at length agreed upon by the allies; and Holland and England were greatly rejoiced when they understood that it was so: but Torcy having declined signing them, till he had an interview with his master, he was fated to meet, as

Sicily for the king my grandson, and to preserve Dunkirk with its fortifications and harbour, and Strasburg and Landau in the manner above explained, or even the same sum, were Sicily to be excepted out of this last article. I must also explain to you, that if the treaty was once signed, with the reservations in favour of the King of Spain, and this prince had forfeited them, for non-acceptance within the limited time, this should make no change in what you promised the duke of Marlborough."

he was passing on the road to Versailles, a messenger from the king, announcing his rejection of the preliminaries. A charge has been brought against Marlborough of his having secretly obstructed the peace for his own personal interests. But the fact is, the treaty broke off because the allies required that the whole Spanish monarchy should be given up by Philip, within two months; and if he refused, that the French king should assist the allies in the endeavour to compel him. This resolution, on the part of the allies, if indeed they did actually desire a peace, was exceedingly impolitie; for it could not be reasonably expected, that the French king could accede to such terms, Philip being his grandson; and the war having been, in no small degree, undertaken expressly in his behalf. Marlborough himself felt the improbability of the king's doing so. Where the proposition came from, except from the counsellors of the Archduke Charles, seems to be a mystery.

The negotiations were broken up; and Marlborough then continued to exhort the ministers, that the surest and indeed the only means of obtaining the terms, which they were resolved to dictate, were to provide a superior force in the Netherlands. "I have as much distrust for the sincerity of France as any body living can have; but I shall own to you, that, in my opinion, if France had delivered the towns promised by the preliminaries, and demolished Dunkirk and the other towns mentioned in my instructions, they must have been at our discretion; so that if they had played tricks, so much the worse for themselves." In fact, by the publication of Marlborough's correspondence, it has been decisively proved, that he did not direct the negotiations;

that he was decidedly a friend to peace ; that he differed in many respects from the cabinet ; and that he was guided by instructions received from home, which he did not, and could not, venture to transgress. "Had he, indeed," says the best and most judicious of his biographers, Mr. Coxe, "possessed the sole management of affairs in peace and war, he would, doubtless, have framed such conditions as would have been accepted ; or would have made such mighty preparations as would have enabled him to dictate his own terms in the heart of France." "In this case," continues Mr. Coxe, "the treaty of Utrecht would not have stained the annals of this deluded and devoted country."

Marlborough had before this taken all possible pains to get an accession of force in the Netherlands. The failure of the negotiations showed the wisdom of this ; and the conduct of the King of France still more: "Hunger," said his majesty, "will compel men to follow the bread-waggons;" and his army amounted now to a number, little inferior to that of the allies. Vendome was removed to Spain to retrieve, against other generals, the reputation he had lost, when opposed to Marlborough: and the command in Flanders was given to Villars.

At the opening of the campaign Villars occupied a strong position behind the lines of La Bassée ; the armies of Eugene and Marlborough, having assembled on both sides of the Upper Dyle, joined in the vicinity of Seclin. They soon after made use of several stratagems to deceive Villars ; among which the feint of an attack on the French lines ; and then suddenly marched to invest Tournay. Our space is too short, as we have observed in other places, to give a history of the siege. We can only state, that Villars made

several ineffectual attempts to relieve it : that after the town had surrendered, the citadel was besieged* ; and that after a brave defence the citadel itself was compelled to surrender at discretion. The importance of this town and citadel to the allies was very great ; for by their acquisition a province in the French Netherlands was acquired, remarkable for its manufactures and fertility of soil ; and as a military position it was still more important, for it covered Spanish Flanders.

Three days after the fall of this citadel, part of the allies under the Prince of Hesse, by movements, effected with great skill and extraordinary rapidity, entered the French lines without opposition, and interposed between Mons, which it was intended to besiege, and the army of Villars, who was again baffled by the superior talents and activity of his antagonists.

These movements led to the battle of Malplaquet ; which has been truly styled the bloodiest action of the whole war, and the best fought in which the French were ever defeated.

This celebrated battle took place on the 11th of September. Divine service was performed at three

* “ We have at last signed the capitulation of Tournay,” wrote the duke to the duchess, “ so that to-morrow night we shall continue the attack on the citadel. The taking of it will cost us more time and men than the town ; but what gives me the greatest prospect for the happiness of being with you is, that certainly the misery of France increases, which must bring us to a peace. The misery of all the poor people we see is such, that one must be a brute not to pity them.” A few days before, he had written thus :—“ I do hope this winter will put an end to this war, and that the peace will last as long as we live ; and I do assure you, I long every day to be more and more with you ; to live as much as our circumstances will permit, not to affect meddling with public business, by which, I hope, we may be eased of both envy and trouble.”

in the morning ; silence and order pervading all the ranks. The confederates began to work on their batteries, the moment service was over. They raised one of 28 pieces of cannon on the left ; another of 40 in the centre ; and the rest of the artillery was distributed on the right. A very thick fog, which lasted till half-past seven, had greatly facilitated their work ; and when the morning cleared, both armies found themselves in immediate neighbourhood. They had a perfect view, one of the other. Villars commanded the French. His troops adored him. They had, therefore, unbounded confidence in him ; and as he rode along the ranks the air rung with " Vive le Roi ! Vive le mareschal de Villars ! " At seven, he mounted his horse ; giving the command of the right wing to Marshal Boufflers ; he superintending himself the movements of the left.

A little after eight the signal for attack began by a discharge, on the part of the confederates, of 50 pieces of cannon. The numbers of the two armies were nearly equal ; each having between 90,000 and 100,000 men. The battle raged for some time with unexampled bravery. At length the Prince of Orange made a terrible mistake. He could not restrain his impetuosity. He made an attack, therefore, contrary to his instructions, before he could be properly supported, and thereby lost the flower of the Dutch infantry. The allies, nevertheless, gained a complete victory. All the troops, we are told, officers and soldiers, showed as great resolution, intrepidity and firmness, as were ever known in these later times, or stand recorded in ancient history. Marlborough and Eugene were often in the very hottest of the fire. Eugene was, at length, struck by a musket-ball behind the ear.

His attendants instantly persuaded him to retire in order to dress the wound. "No," said the hero, "if I am fated to die here, to what purpose can it be to dress the wound? If I survive, it will be time enough in the evening." Saying this, he rushed instantly into the hottest of the engagement. Marlborough performed all the duties of a consummate general; and the issue was, that the French army left the field in possession of the allies, with 16 of their cannon, 20 colours, 26 standards, and other indisputable marks of victory; not to mention a great number of prisoners. Some of these were taken in the action, others in the pursuit, and a still greater number, the next morning. The loss, however, in killed and wounded, and missing, was greater on the part of the conquerors than of the conquered; the French having lost 14,000; the allies 20,000. This disproportion of loss arose from the unfortunate mistake of the Prince of Orange, to which we have already alluded.

Both armies fought with almost incredible valour. "The enemy," said Villars, "would be annihilated by another such a victory." "The French officers," said Boufflers, "performed such wonders, as even surpassed human nature." "The Eugenes and Marlboroughs ought to be well satisfied with us during that day," said an officer of distinction in the French army; "since, till then, they had not met with resistance worthy of them. They may say, with justice, that nothing can stand before them; and indeed, what shall be able to stem the rapid course of these two heroes, if an army of 100,000 of the best troops, posted between two woods, trebly intrenched, and performing their duty as well as brave men could do, were not able to stop them one

day? Will you not then own with me, that they surpass all the heroes of former ages?"

Marlborough had, previous to this battle, earnestly desired an addition to his force of 10,000 men. This was not accorded to him. Had it been so, the ablest negociator in Europe could not have commanded a peace so effectually as the additional amount of victory would have been ensured on that day. "The allies, indeed," in the language of Mr. Coxe, "remained masters of the field; but the laurels of the two great commanders were deeply tinged in blood, and the result of the campaign was far from being commensurate with the sacrifice of so many valuable lives."

In respect to the battle itself, it was the greatest obtained in modern Europe, up to that day; and after it the French never ventured to meet Marlborough in the field. "The more dearly it was purchased," says an elegant and powerful writer, "the greater was the moral value of the success. There remained no cause to palliate, no subterfuge to cover, the defeat which the French had sustained. They could not impute it to want of confidence in their commander, or want of skill; or want of courage, or of conduct in the army, or in any part of it; nor to any disadvantages of ground; nor to any error or mishap of any kind. They had chosen their position and strengthened it. They had stood their ground well; men, and officers, and commander, had done their best; the only blunder had been committed by their enemies; and owing to that, and to the advantage of their post, they had inflicted a loss greater by nearly one third, than they had themselves sustained, and yet were beaten." As to the conduct of the two confederated generals, a

German officer says in his letter, that no appearance of jealousy was ever observable between them; yet on this day it was remarked, that each endeavoured to surpass the other in valour and conduct. They both escaped miraculously, as it were; and so did Marshal Boufflers; as to Villars, he was severely wounded when in the front rank. No four generals ever exposed themselves more; and none ever deserved more of their respective countries. Such was the celebrated battle of Malplaquet. "Had this engagement," says one of the authors of the *Tatler*, "happened in the time of the old Romans, and such things been acted in their service, there would not be a foot of the wood, which was pierced, but had been consecrated to some deity."

One of Marlborough's first cares, after the action, was to administer relief to the wounded French, of whom 3000 had been left on the field, and to arrange means with the French marshals for conveying them away. Though this battle was of vast consequence to the allies and Europe at large, we are told that only two notes from the victorious general have been found among the Marlborough manuscripts: and that, in them, the duke did not speak of his victory with the same exultation, as he had of those won at Blenheim, Ramillies, and Oudenard. One of these notes was to the duchess:—

"I am so tired that I have but strength enough to tell you, that we have had this day a very bloody battle; the first part of the day we beat their foot and afterwards their horse. God Almighty be praised it is now in our power to have what peace we please, and I am pretty well assured of never being in another battle; but that now nothing else in this world can make me happy if you are not kind."

The other note was addressed to the lord treasurer :—

“The English post of the 26th is come, but I have not strength to do any thing but to let you know that we have had this day a very murdering battle. God has pleased us with a victory ; we have first beat their foot and then their horse. If the Dutch please, it is now in our power to have what peace we please, and I have the happiness of being pretty well assured that this is the last battle I shall be in ; so that I may end my days in some quietness, and have the satisfaction of your company.”

Surely this is joy and exultation enough. His prediction was verified ; for never did the enemy once venture to meet Marlborough in the field again.

The next day Marlborough was affected in a way, in which it had been happy for mankind, had conquerors always been affected. It is thus described by Mr. Coxe :—“Marlborough had scarcely retired to enjoy a short repose after his incessant fatigues, before he was disturbed by the numerous appeals, made by the officers of the different nations in the army, to give orders for relieving the wounded, and disposing of the sick. But on the ensuing morning, his feeling mind was exposed to much more painful emotions ; for that day was dedicated to the melancholy solemnity of burying the slain. On riding over the field of battle, he surveyed with a heavy heart the numerous bodies of the dead and dying, strewed over the plain, or heaped upon each other. Nor did he feel only for the sufferings of his companions in arms ; the groans of the wounded enemies, and the sight of their mangled limbs, equally awakened his compassion. Learning, also, that many French officers and soldiers had crept into the neighbouring houses and woods, wounded, and in a miser-

able condition for want of assistance, he ordered them every possible relief, and dispatched a messenger with a letter, to the French marshal, humanely proposing a conference at Bavai between General Cadogan and any officer whom they should choose to appoint, to arrange the means of conveying away these wretched sufferers. The meeting took place accordingly, between Cadogan and the Chevalier de Luxembourg, and the arrangements were amicably settled; two days being allowed for burying the dead and removing the wounded; the officers pledging their parole not to serve till regularly exchanged, and the soldiers to be considered as prisoners of war, for whom an equal number of allied troops were to be returned. The number of the wounded, who might shortly have terminated their wretched existence, did not amount to less than 30,000 men."

Soon after the victory, Marlborough had the satisfaction of receiving a letter from Lord Somers.

"MY LORD,—I am too sensible of the greatness of the affairs in which your grace is constantly engaged, and of the little use any letter of mine can be, to pretend to trouble you often; but I lay a sort of customary claim to congratulate you upon the occasion of this glorious victory, as I have done often before upon the like accounts. Many others can make their court better; but no man living can more truly rejoice in the success, or has more heartily wished and prayed for it. May the consequence of it be as agreeable and happy to yourself as your own heart can desire, and to all Europe in producing a happy and lasting peace, which is the end for which you have been so long fighting, and which I hope you will live long to enjoy with honour and satisfaction. I cannot but hope this last great success will quite lower the credit of those, who may wish for an ill peace, and satisfy the French king, at last, that he has attempted every thing possible for saving his own honour,

and that it is time for him in good earnest to think of preserving France from utter ruin. I am sure, your grace will omit nothing which may improve this glorious advantage: I am not so vain as to offer any poor thoughts of mine for that purpose."

He received, also, a letter from Godolphin, in which the minister gave him a curious anecdote, in regard to the manner in which affairs were considered by the governor of the Bank of England.

"Upon the strength of your victory I spoke yesterday to the Bank, that pursuant to the latitude, given in the last session of Parliament, they would now contract with me for the circulation of 600,000*l.* in exchequer bills, to the carrying on the public service. What I said seemed to be pretty well received, and I hope it will succeed; but upon that occasion Sir Gilbert Heathcote, who is governor, said to me, 'Pray, my lord, don't let us have a rotten peace.' 'Pray, tell me,' I answered, 'what you call a rotten peace?' 'I call any thing a rotten peace,' he said 'unless we have Spain; for, without it, we can have no safety, and now we have them down, let us keep them so, till we get quite out of the war.' 'But, Sir Gilbert,' I said, 'I want you a little to consider the circumstances of the Duke of Marlborough and me: we are railed at, every day, for having a mind, as they call it, to perpetuate the war; and we are told we shall be worried, next winter, for refusing a good peace, and insisting upon terms, which it was impossible for France to perform.' He replied very quick, 'They are a company of rotten rogues that tell you so; I'll warrant you, we'll stand by you.' By this you will see, that as all the malicious people will rail, if there be no peace, so those, who wish best, will be very uneasy at any peace, under which they do not think themselves safe, or that leaves them to an aftergame for the recovery of Spain. This seemed also to be in a good measure the sense of the States, when Lord Townsend alarmed them with the prospect of a new treaty. If they continue in that mind I hope peace may be had so as to satisfy our friends; for the others it is impossible."

Though this victory was of such a commanding nature, the news of it was received in England with mixed sensations ; of triumph on the side of his friends, and of blame on that of his enemies. The queen was rather indifferent ; but she thought it expedient not to appear so, and went in consequence to St. Paul's to return thanks. Marlborough's friends and the public lauded him loudly for his military genius ; but his enemies cast upon him the bitterest reproaches for the wanton sacrifice of his men ; not knowing that the great loss was occasioned by the Prince of Orange, and Marlborough not esteeming it prudent to make a public declaration of it, lest it should prove displeasing to the Dutch.

The third day after the conflict was observed as a day of thanksgiving by the whole army ; and the evening concluded with a triple discharge of small arms and artillery. On the next day they invested Mons. Had Marlborough's advice been followed in 1706, that town would doubtless have been taken without so great a havock as had ensued at Malplaquet. The siege was committed to the charge of Prince Eugene ; but the Prince of Orange had the immediate direction of the attacks. In regard to the French, they were so disheartened, and had retired so far, that Mons was left almost entirely to itself. The heavy artillery having arrived from Brussels, the trenches were opened. This operation, however, was interrupted by a sally of the garrison. Some days after, the allies began to fire upon the face of the horn-work, at the gate of Havre, and continued to do so, with very good success, till the next day (Sept. 20) about noon : when the breaches being almost practicable, and the besiegers making preparations for a general assault, to escape the

effects of the attack, the governor beat a parley, and hung out white flags to signify his desire to capitulate. Hostages were hereupon exchanged; the enemy sending M. de Sonnegar, M. Grimaldi, and M. Lellier; and the allies, Major-General Ranck, Brigadier Ockinge, and Colonel Alberti.

The French hostages, having dined with the Prince of Orange, went, in the afternoon, to the duke's head-quarters, where Prince Eugene also was; and having delivered in their proposals, consisting of two-and-twenty articles, returned into the town the same evening with their highness' answer. They came out again the next morning, and, after some debates, accepted such terms as the confederate generals thought fit to grant them; by which they were allowed to march out with marks of honour; but without cannon or mortars. By this surrender it was plainly manifested that the allies had gained something more than the mere name of a victory; since the enemy, who had hazarded the battle at Malplaquet to prevent the siege of Mons, did not make the least motion to relieve it, notwithstanding the assurances which had been given by Villars and Boufflers to the French king, that he would not lose an inch of ground by the action; and their boasts of marching towards the allied armies, if the king's service required it.

This affair ought not to be passed over without some notice being taken of the gallant Duke of Argyle, who is said to have been frequently foremost in every danger; exposing his person like the meanest soldier. At the siege of Mons, he particularly distinguished himself; and one day, observing a corps shrinking from the onset, he rushed in among them with exposed breast, exclaiming, "You

see, brothers, I have no concealed armour ; I am equally exposed with you ; I require none to go where I shall refuse to venture. Remember, you fight for the liberties of Europe and the glory of your nation, which shall never suffer by my behaviour ; and I hope the character of a Briton is dear to every one of you."

By the conquests of this campaign the great towns in Brabant and Flanders were covered ; the French were reduced to their own limits ; and the Dutch frontiers and the adjacent provinces became exempt from the burthen of supplying, encamping, and foraging armies.

The time, however, was now come for the allied armies going into winter quarters ; the advancement of the season not admitting of any farther undertaking. On the 26th the confederate generals, therefore, moved from the camp before Mons, passed the Haisne, and came to Thiuries, where they remained the next day, which they devoted to the celebration of a thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the taking of Mons. Two days after, the troops separated to march into their respective quarters : the British for Ghent, the Danes for Bruges, the Prussians for the Meuse, and the rest for Brussels, Louvain, and the neighbouring towns of Brabant. Having directed all this, the two generals set out for Brussels, and then went to the Hague. Previous to the going whither, however, the duke had the satisfaction of receiving the following complimentary letter from the States-General :—

"SIR,—Although we were already informed by our deputies, of the taking of Mons, and the reduction of the province of Hainault, the letter, whereby your lordship congratulates us on that happy success, has not been for

all that less acceptable to us. We look upon this conquest as one of the fruits of the last victory, and of your labours; and we rejoice the more at it, because, besides its own importance, it must convince all the world that the advantage, as well as the glory, of the last battle remain on the side of the allies. We congratulate, with all our hearts, your highness thereupon. If the season permitted you to go as far as your good will, we might surely promise ourselves, that the valour of your highness would procure us new advantages before the end of the campaign; but seeing the season of the year does not allow of any farther action, this must be deferred till next spring; unless the enemy prefer peace to war, upon more equitable conditions than they have hitherto expressed. We are with much esteem," &c.

The Duke arrived at the Hague on the 3rd of November, Prince Eugene on the 7th. During their stay many things were arranged necessary to the common cause. Plans were also laid for the next campaign; and the Dutch stimulated to concur in a vigorous prosecution of the war.

As in these memoirs our chief design is to give merely a general outline of the life and actions of Marlborough, and not to furnish an account of the general operations going on in various parts of Europe,—for a description of which the reader is necessarily referred to the various histories of the time,—we pass over a multitude of circumstances in no way affording data, on which to furnish opportunities of judging either the genius or the character of Marlborough. We proceed, therefore, to the advances which France made towards a peace, soon after the taking of Mons. To this end Signor Foscari, the Venetian ambassador, who came to Holland about this time, took a turn to Amsterdam, to feel the pulses of the burgomasters of that city.

On the other hand, M. de Petticum, resident of the Duke of Holstein, at the Hague, who had been employed the last winter, underhand, in the negociation of peace; and had since continued to hold a correspondence with the Marquis de Torcy, made some new overtures on the part of France, and desired passes for their commissioners to come to the Hague. The British, Dutch, and Imperial ministers, having taken this matter into consideration, and a report of their conference having been made to the assembly of the States-general, their high mightinesses refused the passes; but consented that M. de Petticum should go to the French court, pursuant to their desire, to know what farther offers they had to make. That minister, therefore, set out for Paris about the middle of November. The duke also a few days after set out for London, and Prince Eugene for Vienna.

We have now leisure to allude to a circumstance with which Marlborough was concerned, only as a matter affecting the general affairs of Northern Europe: viz. the defeat sustained by Charles XII. at the battle of Pultowa. This great and unfortunate monarch having resolved to invade Muscovy, and being flushed with the success he had met with in Poland, took it into his imagination that he could dethrone Peter, with the same ease that he had done Augustus. He marched, in consequence, so far into the Ukraine, that, at length, he had no possibility of retreating: and this brought such a catastrophe on his affairs, that he was never after able to disentangle himself. This was the battle of Pultowa; in which he lost not only his camp, his baggage, and all his artillery, but a great part of his army. A considerable number, it is true, survived the battle; but

being closely pursued by Peter's forces, and having neither bread nor ammunition, they were all made prisoners of war. The king himself, with a small number about him, passed the Dnieper, and got into the Turkish dominions, where he lived some time under voluntary, though unavoidable, confinement, at a town in Moldavia, called Bender.

This defeat interrupted Charles's career of military glory; and happy it was for the allies that it did so; for it tranquillised the alarm of the emperor, and freed the belligerent powers from the dread of his formidable interference. They were, also, gratified by another result; it replaced Augustus on the throne of Poland. Marlborough, however, sympathised personally with the unfortunate and defeated hero: for he had received many marks of kindness from him; and, with all his errors and eccentricities, he believed him to possess a great and magnanimous spirit.

The news of his defeat was communicated to the duke by a letter from Prince Menzikoff, delivered by a captain of Peter's guard, whom he had dispatched for that purpose. "An officer from the Czar's army," wrote Marlborough to Godolphin, "is this afternoon come with letters, and the relation of the late victory, to the Prince of Orange and myself. He left the Czar twelve days after the action." "I send to Mr. Secretary a copy of my letter from the Czar's favourite and general, with the relation of the whole; so that I shall not trouble you with repeating; but cannot avoid telling you that the particular account the officer gives me is terrible; and, having once seen the King of Sweden, I am extremely touched with the misfortune of this young king. His continued successes, and the contempt he has of his enemies, have been his ruin."—"If this unfortu-

nate king," wrote the duke to the duchess, "had been so well advised as to have made peace the beginning of this summer, he might, in a great measure, have influenced the peace between France and the allies, and have made his kingdom happy ; whereas, he is now entirely in the power of his neighbours."

This defeat occasioned great alterations in the north of Europe, and some apprehended changes in regard to the operations of the next campaign. The King of Denmark made instant preparations for invading Sweden ; Augustus departed from Dresden for the recovery of Poland ; and the King of Prussia joined in their alliance with the Czar, in the hope of conquering Pomerania. He complained, as usual, at the end of the campaign, of the conduct of the allies, and of the little attention paid to his interests. He not only, therefore, threatened to recal his troops, but even affected to listen to overtures from France. Marlborough, however, succeeded in conciliating the king, through the medium of Grumbkow ; and his majesty, in consequence, promised to continue his assistance in the next campaign.

Marlborough now determined on returning home ; Godolphin having written to him to say that, without him, all things would fall into confusion, both at court and in parliament. On taking leave of the States,—“I am grieved,” said he, “that I am obliged to return to England ; and the more so since my services to your republic will there be turned to my disgrace.” What the circumstances at home were, to which Godolphin alluded, we now proceed to give some account of.

The whigs having again threatened the ministers with withdrawing their support, and the jealousies which had existed against them being also revived,

it became evident to the queen, that the whigs were determined to monopolise all power ; and her majesty appealed to Marlborough. In the meantime the duchess had become reconciled to the whigs ; and wearied the duke in consequence with exhortations to support them. Actuated by respect for the queen, and gratitude for past benefits, he scarcely knew how to act ; but at length resolved to support the whigs in placing the Earl of Orford at the head of the admiralty ; and the queen, no longer able to resist, reluctantly consented to the appointment. A similar objection occurred, soon after, to the admission of Sir George Byng and Sir John Jennings. This led to new cabals. Marlborough was again resorted to ; and on the very day, in which he landed in England, the feud terminated ; the appointments being made, with the exception of Sir John Jennings, towards whom the queen held a rooted antipathy.

Since the quarrel, recorded some pages back, between the queen and the duchess, they had met but seldom ; and even in their correspondence they had mutually indulged in constant altercations. In these, the themes of the duchess were the queen's reluctance to favour those, to whom she was indebted for the glory of her reign ; the secret influence of Harley ; and the evident satisfaction, her majesty had, in the society and friendship of Mrs. Masham. The answers of the queen were couched in terms at once reproachful and sarcastic. The duke was greatly disturbed by these perpetual altercations ; and he wisely entreated the duchess to abstain. " It has always been my observation in disputes, especially in that of kindness and friendship, that all reproaches, though ever so reasonable, do serve to no other end but making the breach wider. 1

can't hinder being of opinion, how insignificant soever we be, that there is a Power above which puts a period to our happiness or unhappiness; otherwise, should anybody, eight years ago, have told me, after the success I have had, and the twenty-seven years' faithful services of yourself, that we should be obliged, even in the lifetime of the queen, to seek happiness in a retired life, I should have thought it impossible."

Soon after receiving this recommendation, the duchess had a personal altercation with the queen in regard to a particular apartment in the palace, which the duchess wished to have; but which she found her majesty desired to reserve for the use of Mrs. Masham's sister. A short time after which, the duchess wrote to her royal mistress, soliciting to be informed what crime she had committed, that her majesty's behaviour was so greatly altered towards her. The queen's answer was to the effect, that the alteration did not arise from any fault, but from a discordance in political opinion; finishing with—"It is impossible for you to recover my former kindness; but I shall behave myself to you as the Duke of Marlborough's wife, as my groom of the stole."

The folly,—for what other name can be given to it?—did not rest here. Her grace drew up a narrative of the whole course of their connection from the beginning to the time in which she wrote. To this she appended extracts, relative to the obligations of friendship, from the "Whole Duty of Man," and from the directions, prefixed to the communion service, in which it is enforced, that no one could conscientiously partake of the Lord's Supper, unless they were at peace and in charity with all mankind. Having done this, she requested the queen to inform

her, whether she still remained in the same mind in regard to her, she was in before: "If your majesty will do this," concluded the duchess, "I assure you that I will never trouble you more upon any subject but the business of my office." The queen answered, that when she had read all the papers, she would send an answer. The duchess, however, never heard any more about them. "My papers," says her grace, "had no apparent effect upon her majesty, except that, after my coming to town, as she was passing by me, in order to receive the communion, she looked with much good-nature, and very graciously smiled upon me. But the smile and pleasant look, I had reason afterward to think, were given to Bishop Taylor and the common prayer-book, and not to me."

It must be confessed, that the temper of the duchess was exceedingly difficult: and this is evident from an anecdote given in Lord Wharncliffe's introductory remarks in regard to Lady Mary Wortley Montague.

"The duchess had still, at a great age, considerable remains of beauty, most expressive eyes, and the finest hair imaginable; the colour of which she had preserved unchanged by the constant use of honey-water. By this superb head of hair hung a tale, an instance of her waywardness and violence, which (strange to say) she took particular pleasure in telling. None of her charms, when they were at their proudest height, had been so fondly prized by the poor duke, her husband. Therefore one day, upon his offending her, by some act of disobedience to her 'sovereign will,' the bright thought occurred, as she sate considering how she could plague him most, that it would be a hearty vexation to see his favourite tresses cut off. Instantly the deed was

done ; she cropped them short, and laid them in an antechamber he must pass through to enter her apartment. But, to her cruel disappointment, he passed, entered, and re-passed, calm enough to provoke a saint ; neither angry nor sorrowful ; seemingly quite unconscious both of his crime and his punishment. Concluding he must have overlooked the hair, she ran to secure it. Lo ! it had vanished ; and she remained in perplexity the rest of the day. The next, as he continued silent, and her looking-glass spoke the change a rueful one, she began to think she had for once done a foolish thing. Nothing more ever transpired upon the subject till after the duke's death, when she found her beautiful ringlets carefully laid by in a cabinet, where he kept whatever he held most precious."

The conduct of the duchess, in the zealous part she took in behalf of the whigs, inflamed the queen even to exasperation. Her majesty detested the whigs ; she feared them in equal proportion. The favourite hated them too ; and Harley was a subtle instrument of their hatred ; and the favourite was, in turn, an instrument of Harley ; who engaged, likewise, the equally subtle agency of Lord Rivers ; whose influence increased the discontent of the Duke of Somerset, who was deeply offended with Marlborough for having refused a vacant regiment to his son, Lord Hertford, even though he had been earnestly recommended by the queen. Somerset was also at this time so greatly in the queen's favour, that Godolphin was frequently heard to remark, that Somerset was more hours in the day with her majesty than he was absent.

Harley had, some time before this, begun his grand scheme ; viz., that of ruining the influence of

Marlborough. He joined both tories and Jacobites, therefore, in decrying Marlborough in negociation as well as in war. "When he thought," says Mr. Coxe, "that peace would be concluded, he censured the preliminaries, as not sufficiently advantageous: and when Louis rejected them, he blamed Marlborough for the rupture of the negociation." "In military affairs he blamed the siege of Tournay, as useless and expensive; he censured the battle of Malplaquet as wanton carnage; and did not even refrain from so cruel an aspersion as to stigmatise it as a selfish expedient of the duke to thin the number of officers, that he might profit by the disposal of their commissions!" He also imputed to him the prolongation of the war; not for the benefit of the country, but of himself.

All these accusations were insinuated into the ear of the queen by Mrs. Masham, and the effect on the mind of her majesty, which was weak, was what might naturally have been expected. The queen was, also, led by the impression, that Marlborough's whole thoughts were bent on personal aggrandisement; and a circumstance now occurred, which so totally riveted that idea upon the queen's mind, that it could never afterwards be eradicated. This circumstance was an extraordinary act of imprudence on the part of the duke himself. He prayed the queen to make him captain-general for life! The duke had not even the apology arising from precedent, for this imprudent request. For, on consulting the lord chancellor (Cowper), the records were searched; the result of which was, that the chancellor assured him, that such a grant was totally unprecedented. Notwithstanding this, the duke persevered. Sensible that the queen was entirely alienated from

him by the intrigues of those to whom she had given her whole confidence, and that his enemies were every day becoming more active and more virulent, for the sake of strengthening himself while his friends were in power, against the attacks of his enemies, and securing a permanent influence in the army; he had (about the middle of the last campaign) made the request stated;—the greatest imprudence he ever committed.

The answer of the queen was what might have been naturally anticipated. After consulting with her counsellors, she rejected the request in the most decided and unequivocal manner. And here we may copy a passage from Dean Swift:—"When the Duke of Argyle was consulted what course should be taken upon the Duke of Marlborough's request, to be general for life, and whether any danger might be apprehended from the refusal, *I was told*, he suddenly answered, that her majesty need not be in pain, for that he would undertake, when she commanded, to seize the duke at the head of his troops, and bring him away living or dead." This answer was, it has been supposed, intended to augment the queen's alarm. Whether it was intended so or not, it is certain it produced that effect; and from that period the influence of the duke was less than one-half what it formerly had been.

The duke landed at Aldborough on the 8th of November. On the 10th he went to St. James's. On the 15th the queen opened the parliament: when, among other matters, she took notice of the late glorious campaign, and its great and important successes. The Commons took the first moment to vote their thanks, and a congratulatory compliment to the

duke ; stating that his successes were so remarkable that the house thought itself obliged to express how sensible they were of the honour and advantage, which the kingdom and the confederacy had received from his services. The duke answered,—“It is a very great honour and satisfaction to me, that the House of Commons is pleased to take such notice of my endeavours to serve the queen and my country. I cannot be just to all the officers and soldiers, who have served with me, unless I take this opportunity to assure you, that their zeal and affection for the service is equal to the courage and bravery they have shown during this whole war.”

The address of the lord chancellor was rather florid than otherwise:—“My Lord Duke,—I am commanded by the Lords to give your grace the thanks of this house, for your continued and eminent services to her majesty and the public during the last campaign, of which, nothing can be greater said, than that her majesty (who always speaks with the utmost certainty and exactness) has declared from the throne, that it has been, at least, as glorious as any which have preceded it. But this repetition of the thanks of this august assembly has this advantage over the former, that it must be looked upon as added to, and standing on, the foundations already laid in the records of this house, for preserving your memory fresh to all future times ; so that your grace has, also, the satisfaction of seeing this everlasting monument of your glory, rise every year much higher. I conclude with wishing that God may continue in a wonderful manner to preserve so invaluable a life, and that you may not only add to the structure, but finish all with the beauties and orna-

ments of a lasting peace." This address was answered by the duke with his usual modesty and self-denial.

The House of Commons having pledged itself to grant the necessary supplies for the ensuing year, more than six millions were voted before the end of a month, and a considerable augmentation of troops. The duke was also appointed lord-lieutenant and custos-rotulorum of the county of Oxford.

At the time of the duke's arrival, the whole kingdom was in a ferment, in regard to a sermon preached by Dr. Sacheverell, rector of St. Saviour's, Southwark, before the lord mayor and aldermen of London. In this effusion the doctrine of passive obedience was revived; but, as Marlborough took but a very small part in what ensued in regard to it, we shall pass on to more important matters. The subject belongs to history, where it stands as an awful indication of the folly to which nations may be reduced by political party and religious fanaticism.

The junto had now obtained the honours and offices they wished, and no sooner had they done this, than great dissensions arose among themselves; their jealousy of Marlborough and his friend Godolphin increasing also in like proportion; and of these jealousies, Harley and those connected with him, and of whom he made instruments, did not fail to profit; and an opportunity soon arrived of which they instantly took advantage, to mortify Marlborough, in a manner the most repugnant and repulsive. This was occasioned by the death of Lord Essex; and the queen's having, immediately on his death, and without any consultation with her two chief ministers, Marlborough and Godolphin, pro-

mised two offices, vacant by his death ; the governorship of the Tower to Lord Rivers, and the regiment he had commanded, to Colonel Hill, a person who was no other than Mrs. Masham's brother.

Marlborough wished the governorship to be conferred on the Duke of Northumberland, and the regiment on the Duke of Somerset's son, the Earl of Hertford. He went, therefore, to her majesty, but was fated to be grievously disappointed ; for the queen gave him scarcely time to state what he wished. " Your grace is come too late," said her majesty ; " I have already promised the lieutenancy to Lord Rivers." Nor was this all. Scarcely had he quitted the room, when he received a message from the queen, commanding him to present the vacant regiment to Colonel Hill. This being a greater mortification than the other, the duke soon after solicited an audience ; when he assured her majesty, that to prefer so young an officer as Colonel Hill, before others, would be exceedingly prejudicial to the service. He stated, also, that the appointment was extremely mortifying as it regarded himself. " It is setting up a standard of disaffection, madam, to rally all malcontent officers in the army." Neither this nor any thing else that his grace said, however, had any effect. On parting, the queen drily said, " You will do well to advise with your friends."

Stung with this reception, Marlborough resolved to resign his post, unless Mrs. Masham was dismissed. He retired from London to Windsor Lodge, without the customary formality of taking leave, on the day on which a cabinet council was to be held. No one knew of his departure till the hour of meeting. To his surprise and mortification, however, no notice of his absence was taken, either

by the queen or any of the members. He in consequence wrote to the queen, closing his letter with, "I hope your majesty will either dismiss Mrs. Masham or myself." This letter he showed to several whig leaders. Sunderland and his adherents approved, Godolphin trembled. Two councils were held, therefore, at the house of the Duke of Devonshire; and on meeting it was resolved,—Lord Somers being absent from the first, and Lord Sunderland from the second,—to support the commander-in-chief in his determination to oppose the appointment of Colonel Hill. Lord Godolphin was, however, averse to this: because he considered that it must terminate in the resignation of Marlborough; a resignation which he considered pregnant with all manner of evils. He urged Somers to solicit an audience. We must first, however, relate an interview with the queen, which Walpole is said to have had with her majesty on this subject. That wary aspirant represented to the queen how awkward this subject would prove to Marlborough; and requested her to stay for his answer*. "Did you write to him?" inquired the queen. "I thought not." "Not on Tuesday, Madam, but the next Friday, by your express order; and you said particularly, that if he had any reasons against it, you would acquiesce." "O, yes; I remember something about it now: but I am very well assured there can be no ill consequences from it, any farther than people have a mind to make them, and I will have it done; and I tell you plainly, but you shall not tell it to any mortal, that I have stopped signing all the other commissions purely on this account." "I

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.

beg you, Madam, not to think of it until you have heard from the Duke of Marlborough. What a surprise and a hardship would it be to him to have commissions sent over for brigadiers under him, without his knowledge ! He has hitherto been very successful, and does not deserve to be made contemptible." "Well, then, I will do nothing till I hear, but, positively, I will sign none of the others."

When Lord Somers was admitted, "I have presumed," said his lordship, "to request this opportunity, in consequence of a conversation with the Duke of Marlborough ; and as his grace was yesterday absent from council, I deem it my duty to speak of it to your majesty. I found, Madam, the Duke of Marlborough under great uneasiness ; he having heard that your majesty was inclined to hearken to some people, who might give their advice in contradiction to the opinions of those who had so well succeeded, and to hearken to recommendations for advancement in the army, without, as usual, consulting with his grace. This conduct will be attended with fatal effects ; and when it is once discovered that applications to others are successful, it will be impossible to prevent factions in the army, and to preserve the discipline and unity which have been hitherto maintained. His grace likewise apprehends there are some persons, who endeavour to do him ill offices with your majesty."

"I have a full and lasting sense," answered the queen, after a pause, "of the Duke of Marlborough's long and lasting services, and no one dares attempt to do him ill offices with me ; because, if they did, their malice would recoil on themselves. This I will confirm when I see him ; and then, I doubt not,

I shall have the satisfaction of hearing him own that, after mature reflection, he has changed his opinion, and will not continue to deem my proposal unreasonable."

On retiring from the closet, Somers immediately communicated what had passed to the duke. "I presumed to offer several other things," said his lordship, "but I found her majesty very reserved, and not willing to enter into any further explanation; and, therefore, as I was advised by the lord treasurer, I took my leave." The cold and repelling manner of the queen had no other effect on Marlborough than making him still more determined to adhere to his threat; and in this he was supported by Sunderland. They differed, however, as to the manner in which that should be done. Marlborough wished to make it a matter of private remonstrance; Sunderland desired to bring it before Parliament.

This, however, both Marlborough and the duchess thought would be construed by the queen into an insult. Lord Somers, therefore, solicited another audience from the queen; when he found her majesty rather less repulsive. Indeed she condescended so far as to say, at parting, "I do assure you that I feel for his grace as much kindness as ever; yet I am much surprised at the great offence, which is taken at my recommendation; and when Lord Marlborough comes to town, I will endeavour to convince him, that my friendship for him is as entire as he can desire."

Somers and Godolphin now advised Marlborough by all means to return to London to perfect the favourable disposition of the queen. The whole junta acquiesced in this advice; but Sunderland opposed himself to

it. Neither the duke nor the duchess were inclined to this measure. "I am sure if he does," wrote the latter to one of the party, "I shall wish he had never proceeded in this manner; but have gone to council in a cold formal way, never to the queen alone, and declared to all the world how he was used; and that he served till the war was ended, only because he did not think it reasonable to let a chamber-maid disappoint all he had done." In these sentiments the duke concurred; thinking that her majesty might still have a desire to keep him; but then she could not do so and retain Mrs. Masham at the same time. He therefore wrote to the queen, making bold to say—"The affair of the regiment is only one of a great many mortifications, that I have met with; and as I may not have many opportunities of writing to you, let me beg of your majesty to reflect what your own people and the rest of the world must think, who have been witnesses of the love, zeal, and duty with which I have served you; when they shall see that, after all I have done, it has not been able to protect me against the malice of a bed-chamber woman." The letter concluded with a request for leave to retire.

During all this, the public mind being greatly agitated, Mr. Secretary Boyle went even so far as to assure her majesty, that, should Marlborough retire, "her crown was at stake." Hints were also thrown out in Parliament, that a motion would be brought forward against the favourite; and that an attempt would be made to stop the supplies. At this the queen began to feel some alarm. She summoned Godolphin twice; and, at the latter interview, showed him the letter she had received from Marlborough. At the former she had told him, that she would no

longer insist upon the appointment of Colonel Hill; and at parting, the queen said, "I will answer the duke's letter; and send it to you to-night."

Till the queen's reply arrived, Marlborough was firm in his resolution neither to seek an audience, nor to continue in the command of the army, unless the favourite was dismissed. The queen's letter, however, having been laid before the principal Whigs, and they being of opinion, that the duke ought to be satisfied with this concession, he at length gave up the point, and complied with their advice. He had, accordingly, an audience, and her majesty condescended to receive him, we are told, "with a profusion of kindness, which she had scarcely shown in the days of his highest favour."

Thus this disagreeable matter terminated; but the consequences were ever after felt in a thousand ramifications; for it made her majesty more circumspect in her resolution to get rid of the ministry as soon as possible; and the favourite, Harley, and their allies, more artful. But it had this effect also; it proved to Marlborough, that he could depend on the Whigs only in cases where their own interests and party views were concerned. As to the regiment, the command of it was given to Colonel Meredith; and the brother of Mrs. Masham was rewarded for his disappointment with a pension of one thousand pounds a year!

Harley and his partisans now made use of a number of artifices to get Marlborough away; that is, to compel him to go to the continent to join his army, and act as plenipotentiary in Holland. Marlborough's friends assisted his enemies in this matter; for with a view of impressing on the queen's mind the great importance of Marlborough, they got an address

voted in Parliament to the queen, praying her that she would be pleased to send the duke forthwith to Holland. In this address both Houses concurred; and in the course of it they observed—"We cannot but take this opportunity, to express our sense of the great and unparalleled genius of the Duke of Marlborough; and with all imaginable duty, to applaud your majesty's great wisdom, in having honoured the same person with the great characters of general and plenipotentiary, who, in our humble opinion, is most capable of discharging two such important trusts. We therefore make it our humble request to your majesty, that you would be pleased to order the Duke of Marlborough's immediate departure for Holland; where his presence will be equally necessary to assist at the negotiations of peace, and to hasten the preparations for an immediate campaign, which will most effectually disappoint the artifices of our enemies, and procure a safe and honourable peace for your majesty and your allies."

There was some difficulty in getting the queen to answer this address in a consistent manner. The minister had prepared an answer to this effect:—"I thank you for this address; and I am very well pleased with this declaration of your just sense of the Duke of Marlborough's eminent services, which I am so fully convinced of, that I shall always esteem him as God Almighty's chief instrument of my glory, and my people's happiness; and I will give the necessary orders for sending him immediately to Holland."

When Godolphin presented the draft of this to the queen, her majesty was pleased to propose stating, that she had given Marlborough orders to depart some time before: By this insinuating, that

Marlborough was unwilling to go. Godolphin remonstrated with the queen for such an imputation, and went even so far as to hint, that the thought originated not with her majesty herself, but with some of her secret counsellors. This the queen unequivocally denied; and, though with some reluctance, at length adopted the following:—"My Lords and Gentlemen; I am so sensible of the necessity of the Duke of Marlborough's presence in Holland at this critical juncture, that I have already given the necessary directions for his immediate departure, and I am very glad to find, by this address, that you concur with me in a just sense of the Duke of Marlborough's eminent services."

Marlborough set off from London the next day; but, as he passed through the city, he was importuned by many not to leave England till after the trial of Dr. Sacheverel. To these, and other exhortations, he, of course, turned a deaf ear. He embarked at Harwich; and, after a stormy and difficult passage, landed at the Brill on the 7th of March; having been three days at sea, and rolling about, three leagues from shore, from seven in the morning till two in the afternoon. A few days after his landing, he received the following letter from the celebrated colonizer of Pennsylvania, William Penn:—

"NOBLE FRIEND,—Thy best friends have been in some pain, for thy quick and agreeable passage, which they now conclude, because we have no news yet from thee. It is by no means pleasing that the duke chooses the field before the cabinet; since the enemies are so much abler there than in the field, and that the duke, without flattery, is equally able on both; and as he has nobody of his size in the field, so nobody can be better furnished for the cabinet. And that so great a general should victoriously forward a peace is certainly a just addition to his character; it being as

wise as brave, and I think christian too. I have enclosed the duke my novel about peace ; it is no more than Henry IV. designed, and the States of Holland have proved practicable ; and, therefore, not chimerical."

Though the duke had turned a deaf ear to certain of the people's wishing him to remain in England till after the trial of Sacheverel, yet he was by no means indifferent to the result. When he learned, therefore, that though the Tory priest had been found guilty, yet that his punishment was merely suspension from preaching for three years, and burning his sermon at the Exchange, he was greatly chagrined ; and the more so, since he felt that such a termination could only have resulted from a defection among his friends ; and that such defection was the result of a strong expectation of the change in the government, which was, in fact, now approaching with a hurried step. Among the betrayers of party were the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Somerset, and Argyle.

For causes, which we have no space to refer to, the balance of popularity was now turned from the Whigs to the Tories. Sacheverel became the public idol. He was considered the champion of the church ; and caressed wherever he went : he, who, to the dishonour of the Revolution, and to the church itself, had preached a sermon before the corporation, not for liberty, as he ought to have done, but for divine and hereditary right. The queen's chaplain attended him at his trial ! The taking so much notice of this absurd sermon was the greatest mistake, amongst a thousand mistakes, the Whigs ever committed.

Though all thoughts of a treaty seemed to be at a stand, towards the conclusion of the foregoing year, yet, upon the vigorous resolutions taken in Great Britain and Holland for the continuance of the war,

the court of France thought fit to make further overtures of peace. Marlborough had left England, as he had often done before, saddled with the imputation; that his wish was for perpetual war. Petreum, as we have already stated, had gone to Paris for new instructions. He returned with new proposals. These were, also, rejected by the allies. On this, others were proposed. These, too, were considered unsatisfactory. At length, passes were granted to the French plenipotentiaries, who, soon after, repaired to Gertruydenberg, where conferences followed conferences; till various expedients having been ineffectually made to modify the article relative to the evacuation of Spain, Louis rejected the demands of the allies, and the negociation was at length entirely broken off: the emperor being averse to any clause affecting his interest; it being decidedly evident that Louis was insincere in the articles he proposed.

He promised enough. He offered to recall his troops from Spain; to withdraw all assistance from that country; and in the very moment in which he did so, the allies had decided evidence before them, that he was encouraging his grandson Philip to persevere in the contest. Nothing would satisfy the allies, therefore, but Louis giving up, unequivocally, the whole Spanish monarchy. That Louis was insincere in what he offered, and that his wish was merely to the purpose of creating a division among the allies, we should suppose certain; but that the terms were what he could not be expected to accept, is, we should suppose, almost equally certain, also.

It was said at the time, and has been echoed to the present one, that Marlborough was always averse to peace. In the present instance, certain it is, that he acted only as a plenipotentiary; not upon his

own suggestions or wishes, but as one no longer the moving mind in foreign negotiations.

Feeling that his power was greatly on the decline, his desire was to incur as little as possible of responsibility, for measures which he was not permitted to influence. "I am white paper," said he in a letter to the duchess, "upon which the Treasurer and his friends may write their directions." Indeed, so entirely anxious was he, that neither the making of a peace, nor the continuance of the war, should be saddled upon him, that he proposed that the Parliament should be kept together by short prorogations, in order that the whole course of the proceedings might be submitted, from time to time, to the approval or disapproval of the legislature.

Every expectation of a peace had now vanished. To take the field before the enemy could assemble was now, therefore, the ardent desire of Marlborough and his illustrious friend, Prince Eugene; and the campaign opened with another successful passage of the enemy's lines; a great and unexpected success. The two generals assembled their armies in the vicinity of Tournay. We must not, however, proceed to allude farther to their successes, till we have quoted a passage from one of the duke's letters to the duchess; since it evidently shows to what a state of despondency his mind was, at this time, reduced. "I hope God will be pleased to bless this campaign; for I see nothing else that can give us peace, either at home or abroad. I am so discouraged by every thing I see, that I have never, during this war, gone into the field with so heavy a heart as I do at this time."

Mortagne was taken by the allies; retaken by the French; and afterwards taken again. Marl-

borough and Eugene having joined at Tournay, they made an attack, preparatory to the siege of Douay, upon the French lines ; not choosing to stop, till the enemy could receive reinforcements. This attack was more successful than Marlborough had expected. " I bless God," said he, in a letter to the duchess, " for putting it into their heads not to defend them ; for at Pont de Vendi, where I passed, the Marschal d'Artagnau was with 20,000 men ; which, if he had stayed, must have made it very doubtful. But, God be praised, we are come here (Lens, April 21) without the loss of any man. The excuse, the French make, is, that we came four days before they expected us."

The allies now sat down before Douay and began the siege of it. Its strength was considerable : less populous than Lille ; but of a greater circuit. While part of the army was engaged one night, against the town, the garrison made a sally ; when one regiment of the besiegers suffered greatly, and another was nearly cut to pieces. Two days after, the artillery reached the camp ; consisting of 200 pieces of cannon, including 80 twenty-four pounders.

On the 20th of May, the French army assembled in the vicinity of Cambray, to the amount, it is supposed, of the allied armies ; which consisted of 155 battalions, and 226 squadrons. It was expected that Villars, who had assumed the command, would venture a battle for the relief of Douay.

Villars was accompanied by Marshals Montesquiou and Berwick, and the Pretender ; and it was a point of great importance, since the allies could bring to it all their stores by water over from Amsterdam. He had, therefore, orders to save the town even at the risk of a battle.

The country around was in a dreadful state. "It is impossible," said the duke, "without seeing it, to be sensible of the misery of this country; at least one half of the people of the villages, since the beginning of last winter, are dead; and the rest look as if they came out of their graves. It is so mortifying, that no Christian can see it, but must, with all his heart, wish for a speedy peace."

Marlborough was now sixty years old, but without being at all sensible of old age. "I thank God, I have my health," said he; "but what I hear from your side of the water gives me so much uneasiness, that I am not so fully pleased with those sanguine thoughts as formerly, that God would protect and bless us: but with all my soul I pray he may; and shall very freely venture my life that we may have success; which is necessary not only for the preventing of the ruin of England, but of all Europe: for, should the French get the better, you may depend on it, that Holland is so alarmed by our divisions in England, that they would consent to whatever peace France should insist upon."

In a subsequent letter to the same party he says— "I long for an end of the war. Whatever the event may be, I shall have nothing to reproach myself with; having with all my heart done my duty; and being hitherto blessed with more success than ever was known before. My wishes and duty are the same; but I can't say I have the same sanguine prophetic spirit I did use to have; for in all the former actions, I did never doubt of success; we having had constantly the great blessing, of being of one mind. I cannot say so now; for I fear some are run so far into villanous faction, that it would give them more content to see us beaten. But if I

live I will be so watchful, that it shall not be in their power to do much hurt."

The siege proceeded with great vigour; and the besieged made several sallies. At length, after a thousand instances of valour on both sides, the town capitulated: the garrison being allowed to march out with all the honours of war. The governor (Mons. Albergotti) surrendered in consequence of learning that preparations had been made for a general assault; while his force had dwindled down to only 4527 effective men. On entering the town, the next day, the university presented addresses to the two generals.

Any satisfaction, however, that Marlborough might feel at the fall of Douay, was more than counterbalanced by the mortification he derived from what was passing at home. The duchess, as the reader may remember, had solicited the queen, some time before, for the transfer of the offices she herself held, to her daughters. To this her majesty had given consent: but the duchess became apprehensive, that, in the present posture of affairs, she would not adhere to her word. The duke, at the last interview he had with the queen, had alluded to this promise, and received an answer, which he construed into acquiescence. On this, after his departure, he wrote the queen a letter of thanks. But the queen returning no answer, the duchess wrote to her majesty again, expressing a wish to know whether the duke had rightly interpreted her meaning. The queen answered—"I desire that I may never be troubled any more on the subject!"

Upon this the duchess became greatly infuriated. She, nevertheless, thought proper to solicit an

audience. The queen put her off several times. At last the duchess obtained one ; and a very curious scene took place between them. The queen listened ; but returned no other answer than—" You desired no answer, and you shall have none." We have no space for the altercation. It may be seen in the "Conduct;" and in Coxe's Memoirs. From that day no personal intercourse ever took place between them. Her grace wrote an account of it to the duke while he was before Douay ; too late to remedy the duchess's indiscretion. In answer, therefore, the duke—in compassion to her infirmity,—merely exhorted her to refrain from putting herself in the way of any similar mortification.

This imprudence, on the part of the duchess, put a seal to her influence ; for the queen now began to hate as warmly as she had before loved her. Harley did not fail to take all the advantage of this in his power ; and his first great effort to overthrow the ministry was to get the Duke of Shrewsbury appointed to the office of Lord Chamberlain ;—a man, so generally beloved, that the late king (William) gave him the designation of " king of hearts." Though greatly beloved, it nevertheless appears he could be deceptive. He became chamberlain, not through the influence of Marlborough, to whom he was to all appearance attached, but through Harley ; and that, too, after having written to a friend, with a desire for that friend to show the letter to his grace, thus:—" I own it is hard at first to choose one's friendships well ; but when they are once fixed upon a merit like the persons you mention, and their worth experienced by a long conversation, it is past my comprehending how that should ever be lessened or shaken ; especially by the cunning insinuations of

one, who, every step she advances towards it, must discover the basest ingratitude imaginable to a benefactor, who has made her what she is."

The real reason, perhaps, why Shrewsbury fell into the net, which Harley had spread for him, arose out of the circumstance of the queen's having offered very marked attention to his wife; she having been an Italian countess, who had stooped to live with him as his mistress; and had, in consequence, on her arrival from Rome, been treated with neglect by the duchess and her friends.* Let the cause, however, have been as it might, Shrewsbury joined the cabal; and in place of the Earl of Kent, to whom the queen promised a dukedom, was appointed chamberlain, without Godolphin's knowing any thing of the matter. When the queen wrote to him to say what she had done, the ill-used minister answered,—

"What consequence can this possibly have but to make every man, that is now in your cabinet-council, except the Duke of Somerset, to run from it, as they would from the plague? and I leave it to your majesty to judge what effect this entire change of your ministers will have among your allies abroad, and how well this war is like to be carried on in their opinions, by those who have all along

* The Duke of Shrewsbury had communicated this marriage to Marlborough immediately on its taking place. Shrewsbury's letter has not been preserved; but Marlborough's reply has been found among the Shrewsbury manuscripts. It was to this effect. "My Lord,—I received the honour of your grace's letter, and must confess, I was not a little surprised at what you are pleased to tell me, though I agree entirely with you, that we ought to marry to please ourselves, and not others. I am infinitely obliged for the early information you give me, which I take as a particular mark of your friendship, and dare venture to assure you, no man living can wish your grace more satisfaction and content in it, than I do."

opposed and obstructed, and who will like any peace the better, the more it leaves France at liberty to take their time of imposing the Pretender upon this country."

Notwithstanding this ebullition, Godolphin assured her majesty, towards the close of his letter, that he would never give the least obstruction to her measures, or to any ministers she might be pleased to employ.

When all this came to the ear of the duke, he was greatly surprised and mortified. This was soon after, however, in some degree mitigated by a letter from Godolphin :—

" There being no possibility of receiving foreign letters before the post, I shall begin this with giving you an account of a visit, which I had the honour of this morning from the Lord Chamberlain. He was extremely full of professions to you, to me, and to Lady Marlborough ; and that by whatever door he came in, it was always with an intention and a desire to live well with us three, and not only so, but with all others we would have him live well with ; not doubting, he added, that it would have been done much sooner, if you and I had been entirely master of it ; and that, perhaps, it was as well for us that it happened in this manner, considering the jealous humour of the Whigs."

Not being able to prevent what had happened, Marlborough made up his mind to it ; resolved on acting according to the advice of the Lord Treasurer, and in full concert with Somers, Sunderland, and whomever they should think proper ; " not only now," said he, " but in all the actions of my life." A line of action which appears very extraordinary, to say the least of it. Indeed, at this crisis, the Lord Treasurer and the Commander-in-chief appear to have been greatly wanting to themselves. They

ought immediately to have resigned. According to some, however, it was the height of patriotism not to have done so.

There are many things totally incapable of explanation in the lives of statesmen; and among these several in regard to Marlborough. For instance, it would be difficult, after what he is stated to have felt upon the appointment of Shrewsbury, to find him, soon after, requesting this very same person to assist in gaining the Garter for Lord Orford. The honour was refused, and the medium having been so equivocal, it must be confessed, the refusal was merited. "He is a man," said the duchess, in a letter to Mainwaring, "that t'other day they would have thrown over the top of the house, if any one had proposed his coming into employment. Sure their bottom is not very strong, or else we apprehend shadows."

A few days after forcing the French lines, Marlborough wrote to the queen, recommending several officers to her majesty's notice for promotion. In this list, the names of Colonel Hill and Captain Masham were omitted. The queen was greatly mortified at this, and no slight inconvenience took place. The duke consented to the promotion of Masham, but declared his firm resolution to refuse gratifying the queen in respect to Colonel Hill. One reason for which was, that there were many German and Dutch officers, who might, possibly, refuse to serve under him; and, therefore, that his appointment might give rise to no small perplexity. Learning, however, that any support he might receive from the Whigs, was very problematical, he thought it best not to insist; and this gave her majesty so much satisfaction, that the duchess was

advised to the hope, that the breach between the queen and herself might be closed. Her grace was, therefore, recommended to make her appearance at court. But this advice she received and rejected with great indignation.

The queen now gave evident indications, that she was resolved on dismissing Marlborough's son-in-law, Lord Sunderland. To this she was prompted by Harley and the favourite; seconded by the Duke of Somerset, the instigator of all evil against the duke and the duchess, and the secret manœuvres of the new lord chamberlain. The effect of this on Marlborough's mind may be seen by what he wrote to her grace. "If I were to make the choice, I would much rather be turned out, than Lord Sunderland should be removed; so that I hope all my friends will struggle with all their might and power; for if this point be carried, there is nothing disagreeable and ruinous but must be expected." He even applied to the Duke of Shrewsbury to enjoin him to use his influence with the queen to prevent it. This application, however, was so far from being likely to be successful, that only a short time before it was written, Shrewsbury had sent a message to the treasurer, stating that her majesty was exceedingly pressing that Sunderland's affair should be brought to a conclusion. On this the treasurer waited upon the queen, and represented to her majesty the uneasiness that this matter might create to the duke. "The Duke of Marlborough," answered the queen, "is too reasonable to suffer a thing of this kind to do so much prejudice to himself and the whole world, by taking it to heart; and surely no one knows better than the duke and yourself the repeated provocations, which I have received from Lord Sunderland."

It was now evident, that the dismissal of Sunderland was resolved upon. We find Somers, therefore, writing to the duke, urging him on no account to let this indignity, however galling, drive him from the service. "Whatever way I turn my eyes," said he, "I can discern no hopeful appearance, but from the army, which your grace commands, and for no longer time than till that army must go into winter quarters. You have done wonders for us, and I hope you are reserved to complete them ; and, therefore, I beg that you will have that just regard to the glory, you are possessed of, as not to let any resentment, or any contrivance, how artful soever, put you out of the way of carrying it on, to all the perfection it is capable of receiving. That will be to gratify your enemies. The most effectual and the most certain way of finally disappointing them and punishing them is, to take no notice of what they do ; but to go on to make the utmost use of the opportunity ; that so, by God's blessing, you may bring peace with you, and come home crowned with laurels ; and then you may despise them, and restore us once more to our senses."

How deeply the duke felt in regard to Sunderland, may be seen from what he wrote to the duchess. Sunderland was, nevertheless, abandoned by the whigs ; few of whom appear to have had any inclination to risk their places for his benefit. The duke wrote to the treasurer to request the queen to suspend the dismissal, if it must be, to the end of the campaign ; and the treasurer acted as he was required ; but the queen still held strong to her resolution ; and in a few days received the seals from Lord Sunderland and gave them to Lord Dartmouth.

Godolphin, nevertheless, thought it useful to the public service to retain his office; and a meeting having been held at Devonshire house, it was resolved, that the resignation of Marlborough, at that particular time, would be attended with inevitable destruction. The fact was, that the duke and Godolphin had threatened to resign so often, and still retained their offices, that any threat or feeling in regard to it was now almost unfelt by her majesty. It is, nevertheless, not to be doubted, that, at this period, Marlborough would have resigned his command, had not the principal members of the administration signed a memorial, exhorting him to forego all resentment at what had occurred; for that the welfare not only of England but of all Europe depended on his genius, courage, and wisdom; and that his resignation would be the greatest favour he could confer upon his enemies. This memorial was not signed by the Dukes of Somerset and Shrewsbury; they being too deeply implicated with Harley and the favourite; but the other ministers did. These were Cowper, lord chancellor; Godolphin, lord treasurer; Somers, lord president; the Duke of Newcastle, lord privy seal; the Duke of Devonshire, lord high steward; Orford, first lord of the admiralty; Halifax, auditor of the exchequer; and Mr. Secretary Boyle. Before this memorial could be received, however, Marlborough had written to Godolphin,—“I am not conscious of any fault I have ever committed to the queen; but I fear many towards God; and if that be allowed for, by mortification to me in this world, I ought cheerfully to submit. God forbid, that any action of mine should turn to the prejudice of the queen, or the public welfare of Europe.”

The day before this he had written thus:—“God

knows what we shall be able to do more in this country. As it is like to be my last campaign, I hope he will bless us with some further success, and that things may be made easier for those that shall succeed me : for as it now is, my head is perpetually hot. This, joined with the disagreeable things I receive from England, makes me wish every minute to be a hermit. When you have read this, pray burn it ; for my desire is, that nobody should know my complaints ; but that the world may continue in their error of thinking me a happy man ; for I think it better to be envied than pitied ; for there is no such thing as good-humour left in this world." The memorial was answered, as may be anticipated, with a compliance.

The dismissal of Sunderland was hailed as a triumph, and a signal one, by the Tories. Addresses poured in, like a torrent, from every quarter, promising the queen support from all "republican, traitorous, factious, and schismatical opponents," and the queen was complimented on her rescue from enthrallment. Though the Whig leaders were supposed to be apathetic, yet their party in the kingdom was large ; and in it were comprised most of the leading monied men. These caught alarm ; the funds became depressed ; and public credit, therefore, affected. A deputation, in consequence, waited on the queen to represent to her the injuries, likely to arise from the removal of Lord Sunderland. The queen's answer was to this effect : "I have, for some time, resolved to remove the Earl of Sunderland ; and that for particular reasons of state. I have no intentions to make any further changes ; but, should I alter any of my ministers, it shall be no prejudice either to the Bank or the common cause." It was, also, stated to the

confederates, that no further changes would take place ; and that her majesty was equally resolved, as she had all along been, to support the allies, and to carry on the war with the same vigour as before.

The duchess had been greatly moved at the meditated disgrace of her son-in-law ; and she took an opportunity, which the transmission of an official letter from the duke to Godolphin afforded her, of writing a very long and acrimonious remonstrance. In this, and a subsequent letter, she expatiated on the services of a man, who, she said, had won ten sieges, and six pitched battles, and who was exposing his life every day in her majesty's service : she enlarged, also, on her own services ; and deprecated the consequences, that would ensue on her son-in-law's dismissal. As to her own disgrace, she attributed it to the frankness with which she had given her opinions ; particularly those she had delivered in favour of those persons, who had placed her on the throne ; and in disfavour of those, who were in the interest of the Prince of Wales. She then adverted to the favourite ; declaring it her opinion, that the conduct of the queen arose out of the fear she was in, that she might lose her : concluding a long and acrimonious letter by desiring her majesty to return a letter, she had sent her, of the Duke of Somerset, " which, for nonsense, ingratitude, and good spelling," she considered, " was worthy of preservation, as a great curiosity, and as being the production of so eminent a politician."

On the day preceeding Sunderland's dismissal, the queen answered this epistle ; and referring to the letters, which she had formerly written to her, desired the duchess to return them. This her grace did not comply with ; but expressed her surprise

that the queen had not returned that, she had sent her, written by the Duke of Somerset; for though the letter seemed to have no effect upon her majesty, she could, by showing it, make other people ashamed of him. "My concern for Lord Marlborough's honour and reputation in the world," she concluded, "and the great trouble he expresses on this occasion, brings me to beg of your majesty, upon my knees, that you would only defer this thing till there is a peace, or an end of the campaign; and after such an expression, your majesty can have no doubt of my ever entering into any thing, that can displease you." This was the last letter, that ever passed between the queen and the duchess; and a copy of it reached Marlborough at the same moment, in which he received the notification, that his son-in-law had been dismissed.

We must now return to Marlborough as a general. On the surrender of Douay, his intention was to besiege Arras; but in this being baffled by the skilful operations of Villars, the two generals determined on investing Bethune, a town about six leagues distant from Lisle and Douay, and five from Arras. Since the year 1645, at which time it fell into the hands of France, Louis XIV. had bestowed a considerable expense on the fortifications of it; and it was, at this time, defended by M. de Vauban, — nephew of the celebrated engineer—with a garrison of about 9000 men. The trenches were opened in the middle of July. On the 31st, the French, under Marshal Villars, came out of their intrenchments; but avoided a battle; and employed themselves in casting up new intrenchments; and then, having left what strength he thought proper, Villars abandoned them to their own force; and having no intention to

risk the fortune of France by an engagement, marched, to cover Cambray on the one side, and Arras and St. Omer on the other. The siege lasted till the 28th of August, when the garrison having been greatly weakened, with a prospect of falling short not only of provisions and ammunition, but in flints and ball, Mous. de Vauban beat the *chamade*, hung out two flags,—one at the great breach of the castle, and the other on the ravelin,—desiring to capitulate. The next day, the town surrendered; 2000 men having been sacrificed in the defence of it. The loss, on the part of the besiegers, however, was still greater; there being 3365 killed and wounded.

We must now again return to England; for while Marlborough was engaged in the field, his mind was often compelled to travel home. Harley was now beginning to reap the fruit of his intrigues; the whigs, many of them, being now ready to fall, one by one, into his net: amongst whom, Halifax. Harley's party had represented, that Lord Townsend,—who had been appointed with Marlborough joint plenipotentiary—was little better than an instrument in the hands of Marlborough to obstruct the conclusion of a peace. Halifax was, therefore, joined with Townsend in that commission.

This was a new outrage on the feelings of the duke; and he bore it with the less patience since he had begun lately to suspect every one. Even his friend Somers did not escape; and the lord treasurer was doomed to the consciousness, that the name of minister alone remained. The power was gone! "Neglect," says Mr. Coxe, "followed neglect; insult was heaped on insult; many of his applications to the queen were contemptuously rejected: and his devoted adherents dismissed from their offices, not only without

an apology, but without a previous communication."

Instances occurred often. Lord Coningsby was removed from the vice-treasurership of Ireland, and the Earl of Anglesey put in his place: an English peerage was refused to Lord Dorchester; Lord Raby was refused a seat at the board of trade; and Lord Galway was permitted to transfer his command in Portugal, without any previous communications to Lord Portmore. It is even supposed that the queen, or rather Harley, in order to gain the next heir to the throne, had been induced to offer the command of the army in Flanders to the Elector of Hanover; and this for no other end than to relieve herself from the ascendancy of the Duke of Marlborough. This it would have been almost impossible to believe; had not letters been found among the Marlborough papers in which were several from the Elector, in which he expressly assures the duke that he would, on no account, accept the command. It required all the patriotism both of Godolphin and the duke; therefore, to remain in office under such circumstances. They clung, however, to the hope of being able to avert evils, which they considered inevitable, if they resigned. The queen, in the mean time, had little fear in regard to it. She looked upon the struggle going on as a mere personal contest, in which both whigs and tories were endeavouring to serve their own interests, and with which Europe had little or nothing to do. She earnestly desired a dissolution, therefore, of the parliament; thinking, that a new one would support her favourites—Harley, Mrs. Masham, the Duke of Somerset, and the Duke of Shrewsbury;—and that, by their management, she would be relieved from what her

favourites chose to style the tyranny of the whigs. The time, however, had not yet arrived for a dissolution ; for Harley and his confederates not being sure of a preponderance, the queen postponed that matter, in order to have time to dismiss Godolphin, before a general resignation could take place.

Marlborough knew but too well how little reliance he could place upon the whigs. Harley, in the mean time, had made interest with many of them ; never letting them into the arcana of his own management and designs : but artfully giving them to understand, that all the changes that had taken place were merely changes to soothe the feelings of the queen ; and by no means intended to affect the principles on which they acted. In this manner he lulled their apprehensions and soothed their hopes. They, in return, suspected and confided, till their whole power was lost !

One day, at a meeting of the council, an altercation took place between Shrewsbury and Godolphin. The next day, Godolphin had an audience, at which no allusion was made to this quarrel ; Godolphin having many subjects to confer with her majesty about ; one of which was, that Marlborough had written to inform him, that he had discovered a plot to poison her majesty by some princess at the court of France. For this the queen testified her satisfaction ; but her manner was, nevertheless, so cold upon the whole, that Godolphin was led to inquire whether it was the will of her majesty, that he should go on,—that is, whether he should continue to carry on the government ? The queen answered “yes ;” and with this impression he took his leave. What was his surprise and mortification, then, the next morning, to receive a letter which, he was

informed, had been left with his porter by a servant in the royal livery ! This letter was from the queen :—

“ Kensington, Aug. 1.

“ The uneasiness you have showed for some time, has given me very much trouble, though I have borne it ; and had your behaviour continued the same it was for a few years, after my coming to the crown, I could have no dispute with myself what to do. But the many unkind returns I have received since, especially what you said to me personally before the Lords, makes it impossible for me to continue you any longer in my service ; but I will give you a pension of four thousand a year ; and, I desire, that, instead of bringing the staff to me, you will break it ; which, I believe, will be easier to us both.”

Having done this, the queen wrote to Marlborough to inform him what she had done ; assuring him, at the same time, that the army should want for nothing.

The dismissal of Godolphin would have been a very great inconvenience to him in a private sense,—for his means were very limited,—had he not, soon after, succeeded to the fortune of his elder brother. As to the pension, though the queen promised him, it was never paid ; and he was always too dignified and high-minded a person ever to demand it. Let no one throw the charge of ingratitude on republics only.

Lord Poulett was put at the head of the treasury ; and Harley succeeded to the chancellorship of the exchequer, with all the powers of the government. Though sensible of the insult passed on himself, Godolphin wrote to the duke, exhorting him to continue. “ The object of life,” said he, “ is our country ; not one particular division of it.” The conduct of Marlborough, too, is greatly to be admired. The

disgrace of his friend affected him in a very sensible manner : but his resolution centred at last in the determination to remain fixed and firm to the duty owing to his country and the allies, which interest he had undertaken to defend. "I have formed my resolution," said he, in a letter to Godolphin, "of troubling my head as little as possible in politics ; but apply my thoughts how to finish this campaign to the best advantage. * * * I hope and beg you will think so well of me, that, after this campaign, we may yet, for some few years, live in more quietness than these new vipers would have us." "I am vexed," he wrote to the duchess ; "but be assured that I shall not do my health any prejudice ; for whilst you are kind and some few friends just, I shall contemn the barbarous usage I meet with."

The great whig leaders were at last fully convinced of their folly in playing a double part ; and equally of their imbecility in persuading Godolphin and his friend not to act upon a decided plan, when both were disposed. They now, therefore, concurred in acting cordially with Marlborough. They saw their error, too, in leaving Sunderland to fall without an effort. They lamented, also, their puerile jealousy in regard to the treasurer. They, nevertheless, lingered still upon the threshold of power ; and did not thoroughly awake, till the time came, when they thought proper to resign in a body, on which there was a formation of a new ministry.

We must here give insertion to a letter from Mr. Craggs to the Duchess of Marlborough :—

" May 18, 1710.

"It is enough to distract one to consider, that Mr. Harley and Mrs. Masham, and their creatures, shall reap

the benefit of the greatest and most glorious actions, that ever were performed, wherein they were no more instrumental than their coach-horses. But when we consider who wears the crown, and perverts that power, which those victories have given it, to support sycophants and flatterers, who had no other way of making their fortunes, it is not enough to say, the prince is ungenerous or ungrateful, and the counsellors are base and perfidious villains. But, certainly, wise men and true patriots would leave no stone unturned to attempt the prevention of such dreadful consequences, as must attend such false and fatal councils."

The tories were now in power; and Harley, to all intents and purposes, prime minister, though only chancellor of the exchequer. The only person the queen seems to have been anxious to retain, was the lord chancellor (Cowper). But he could not be induced to continue, although her majesty placed the seals in his hands no less than three times. "Thus ended," says Mr. Coxe, "the most glorious administration, which had ever directed the affairs of the country since the reign of Elizabeth. However we may lament the want of harmony and consistency, which reigned amongst the members of this great and glorious body; yet their defects, which were merely personal, and inherent in human nature, are lost in the consideration of their public merits; and heighten, instead of abating, our regret at their fall."

The consequences we have still the melancholy duty to relate; and these will shortly be alluded to: for, from this time, Marlborough can be considered as having been little better than an agent, acting at the will of others, and no longer master of his own designs. How he was situated, may be guessed by one small sentence. "As every thing is now, I dare attempt nothing but what I am almost sure must

succeed ; nor am I sure that those in power would keep my secret." As to the consequences of the change, in the court of Louis, we may easily understand them by the circumstance of De Torcy having triumphantly exclaimed, "What we lose in Flanders, we shall gain in England."

Marlborough having consented to retain the command of the army, when all or most of his friends had been dismissed, gave some colour for suspicion, that he would listen to proposals, in case they should be made, from the tories. Proposals were, therefore, offered by some of that party ; but so infamous were the terms offered, that had Marlborough accepted them, he must have been stigmatised and for ever disgraced, not only as a politician, but as a man. For what were they ? Bolingbroke must answer : "He was to abandon the whigs, his new friends, and take up with the tories, his old friends ; to engage heartily in the true interests, and no longer leave his country a sacrifice to rapine and faction. He was, besides, to restrain the rage and fury of his wife. These offers were coupled with threats of an impeachment ; and boasts that sufficient evidence could be adduced to carry a prosecution through both houses."

The duke's answer to these propositions, we believe, is not on written record, but it must have been sufficiently energetic ; for, from that moment, we are told, the ministry singled him out as a perpetual object of persecution and hostility, open and secret : and two instances soon after occurred to confirm Marlborough's apprehensions of them. These were an order, sent to the Duke of Argyle, to return home, without any communication with his commander-in-chief ; and the sudden dismissal of three officers, who were so devoted to his service, that he

always kept them near his person. These were, Macartney, Honeywood, and Meredith. In a moment of conviviality, these gallant officers had toasted their commander, with confusion to his enemies; and used some contemptuous expressions against the ministers,—Harley in particular. For this they were cashiered, without the ceremony of a court-martial.

The enemy still continuing to decline an engagement, the duke and Prince Eugene resolved to make the best of the remaining part of the favourable season, by laying siege to St. Venant and Aire, both at the same time, to secure the navigation of the Lys; and thus open a wider communication with Tournay, Lille, and Ghent. While, however, they were engaged against these towns, and expecting a convoy from Menin, news came that that town had been surprised by the enemy and destroyed. M. Le Blanc, having received intelligence that this convoy was on its way, despatched 4,000 men, horse, foot, and dragoons, from Ypres, to attack it. With this superior force, M. Ravignan met and fell upon it with great vigour, defeated the guard, killed 200 men, took 600, blew up some boats laden with ammunition, sunk others, laden with ball and bombs, to put a stop to the navigation of the river; and then retreated with so much skill and haste, that none of the confederates could come up to him in time. The shock, occasioned by blowing up the boats laden with powder, cannon, and grenadoes, was so terrible, that the village of St. Eloyvive was overthrown, as if there had been an earthquake; and the river Lys was divided into two currents across the country.

This accident delayed the siege of these two places for some days. It was the first bad news, Marl-

borough had had to report to the government during nine years. St. Venant, however, unable long to make head against the besiegers, soon after capitulated. The siege of Aire took longer time. It was attended with many difficulties, and the loss of a considerable number of men, on account of the strength of its situation ; being among morasses and inundations ; and so bad was the weather, that the soldiers of the confederates were often up to their knees in water and mud. Added to all which, the garrison made a very gallant defence. At last, however, the governor beat a parley, and the town capitulated. What the loss of the enemy, during this siege, was, we are not correctly informed ; but it cost the confederates rather dear ; being at the expense of 7,000 men ; exclusive of the sick. This was the last military transaction during the campaign (1710) ; both armies, soon after, going into winter quarters.

The new ministry was actuated by a very different spirit from the last ; their object appearing directed to the purposes of insisting that the confederates should furnish their exact contingents, which Marlborough knew they would have done, if they could. This the ministry intended, not with any view of carrying on the general cause with alacrity and spirit, but to excite a feeling of anger in each particular party ; of which they might avail themselves in order that they might make a separate peace with France, if Louis thought proper to tempt them. And here we must not omit to state, that the correspondence between St. John and Marlborough was far from being carried on as it had been with Marlborough and Godolphin ; St. John assuming an air of dictation : a manner, the more difficult to tolerate, as St. John had been the very creation of Marl-

borough. He it was who introduced St. John to office; and he it was, also, who had so effectually recommended him to his most intimate friends and acquaintances. Marlborough might well say, "I have been ruined by those I have made."

As a further illustration of the want of gratitude in most persons connected with political affairs, we may instance the conduct of the King of Spain. His majesty had, several times, offered to Marlborough's acceptance the government of the Netherlands. The duke had as often declined it; thinking it might excite jealousy in the minds of the Dutch, and certain others of the confederates: Now, however, he thought he might accept it without consequences of that description. He wrote, therefore, to the king, stating his willingness and wish to have that honour conferred upon him. But mark the sequel! The king had received intelligence of the change about to take place in the ministry of England; he knew from that, and other circumstances, that Marlborough's influence was declining; and he gave him, therefore, an answer, that prevented the duke from ever seeking it again. It was to the following effect, as given by Mr. Craggs, who was, at that time, the British envoy in Spain:—"His majesty made the following answer; that to speak the truth, upon your grace's resigning your pretensions, he had immediately put that affair out of his own disposition, into the hands of the imperial court; that Count Zinzendorf had informed him, your grace had spoken to him of it, and that he would write to him to confer with you about it; that if he thought your grace desirous of that government, he would do his utmost to have it conferred upon you, so it might be with the general consent, and particularly of the Dutch."

A plan, in the mean time, had been laid by Marlborough against Boulogne or Calais ; but the rains prevented ; he, therefore, now repaired to the Hague to concert with Eugene and the States in regard to the next campaign. There we will leave him for a moment, and proceed to make a few observations on the results of the last campaign in Flanders, Spain, and Italy. That in the Netherlands was, assuredly, not so splendid as previous ones had been. Two towns, however, of great importance, had been taken ; and two others of less consideration. On the other hand, it must be confessed, that the enemy had carried their chief point, after the surprising of their lines ; which was to cover Arras, and thereby to stop their adversaries from penetrating into Picardy, as they otherwise might have done. In regard to Spain, Philip had retreated to Lerida, and, soon after, re-entered Madrid in triumph : while the Portuguese refused to form any junction with the forces of Charles ; and towards the end of the year, there was a loss to the Austrians of all their conquests except Balaguer, Tarragona, and Barcelona.

It is remarkable, that in this campaign the instability of human prosperity is made evident in a surprising manner. Both parties were conquerors, and both were conquered, in their turns. Philip had the advantage in the end ; and how well Charles deserved of his friends has already been shown by the manner in which he evaded Marlborough's request in regard to the governorship of the Netherlands. In respect to Portugal, nothing important occurred ; and nothing worthy of notice in Piedmont. Nor did the affairs of Italy sustain any visible alteration. In regard to a plan, which had been laid by Marlborough in concert with De Seissan, of landing a force in Langue-

doe, it certainly had not the success expected ; but it had that of preventing the Duke de Noailles from joining Philip, and gave the confederate troops, in the neighbourhood of the Garonne, an opportunity of reinforcing Charles, which enabled him to gain two victories ; the one at Almenara,—the other at Saragossa.

Marlborough and Eugene left the army on the 16th of November, and after visiting Tournay, Ghent, and Brussels, arrived at the Hague on the 28th. During their stay there, Marlborough was complimented by all the ministers of the grand alliance ; who earnestly desired him, on no account whatever, to give up his command. The safety of the whole, they said, depended upon him ; and so earnest in this representation was Prince Eugene, that he declared publicly that if Marlborough resigned, he would himself no longer act in the Netherlands. On the 11th of December, the Prince set off for Vienna ; and on the 23d of the same month, the duke embarked for England.

In the meantime, the parliament had met (Nov. 25) ; and now it was easy to perceive how much Marlborough had lost by the change of ministry : for not one word was said, as had been usual, in the queen's speech, in reference to his successes in Flanders. Nor were they so much as hinted at in the addresses either of the Lords or of the Commons. On the 28th, however, the Earl of Scarborough made a motion, that the thanks of the House should be voted to the duke : but fearing, from the manner in which the House received it, that it was more than probable that, if persisted in, it would be lost, the duke's friends adopted the policy of dropping the motion, on the ground that when the duke came

home it would be time enough to speak of that matter. The duke arrived on the day this conduct was adopted. At his entrance into the city, about five in the evening, his coach was attended by a great number of persons with links and flambeaux, who, by their acclamations, expressed great joy at his return, calling out, "No popery!" "God bless the Duke of Marlborough!" "No wooden shoes." Being, however, at all times, averse to making himself an object of popularity, though at the present time it might be considered politic, he ordered his coachman not to drive to St. James's, as he had been accustomed, but to Montague House; whence, after having rested an hour or two, he went out at a private door. On arriving at the palace, the queen gave him a very gracious reception, and discoursed with him for nearly half an hour.

A storm had some time been gathering against the duchess; and the duke was known to have formed a determination to resign upon the instant, if the ministry proceeded so far as to remove her. The duke was, previous to his return, fully aware that an attempt would soon be made. "I believe you judge right," said he in a letter to his wife, "that the queen has deferred her resolution of putting you out till my return. But if there be any pretence given, they will do it before; for they are impatient of having that blow given. The queen is as desirous and as eager in this remove as Mr. Harley and Mrs. Masham can be. * * I am of opinion, that the only good, you can do, is to be quiet; by which you will give them no handle to use you ill before my return." The duchess, however, was of a temper not to be controlled, and not often to be advised. She ardently wished for a reconciliation with the

queen ; but would not, and could not, take the means to ensure it. Indeed, matters had gone too far for any such consummation. There was only one thing remaining, which, if managed properly, might have effected an apparent reconciliation ; and this was the dread, the queen had, of the duchess publishing her private letters. The duchess was equally in dread of her majesty's giving any public indication of her displeasure. Her grace sought to carry her point by threats and intimidation ; while her majesty threatened at one time and soothed at another. At length her majesty resolved, if possible, to know whether the duchess was determined to carry into execution what she threatened. The Duke of Shrewsbury was employed in this matter ; and he, in turn, employed Mr. Mainwaring, her grace's secretary. All that could be gleaned, however, was this : that the duchess declared an aversion to publishing the correspondence ; but signified her resolution to keep the letters, in case she should be compelled to publish them by certain persons, in the employ of the ministry, who, from day to day, had for a long time charged her with corrupt sales of offices, and of speculation in several important transactions.

It must be confessed, that the duchess had given too great a sway to her own natural insolence of disposition ; and that it was nearly next to an impossibility, that her majesty could be desirous of again receiving into her favour a person, who had so often shocked her prejudices, insulted her dignity, and wounded her feelings. At this particular time, however, the duchess seems to have been so hardly dealt with, that it was impossible for her not to attempt some measure either of conciliation or of retaliation : for Swift, in one of the *Examiners* (Nov. 23, 1710,)

had not only accused the duke of receiving 500,000*l.* per annum, while the pay of a Roman general had been merely 904*l.* 11*s.*; but hinted that the duchess had, during the whole time she had been mistress of the robes, absolutely purloined not less than 22,000*l.* every year. No name was mentioned; but the persons meant, it was impossible to mistake. This paper the duchess sent to the queen, with a long letter in vindication of herself against such an atrocious charge. The queen read both; and, when she had done so, fully justified her grace in the remark she made to Sir David Hamilton, who had presented them,—“Every one knows, that cheating is not the Duchess of Marlborough’s fault.”

The duke, soon after this, having arrived in town, as we have before stated, matters were now fast hastening to a crisis. At the second interview, which he had with the queen, her majesty was, in the first instance, conciliating; having assured the duke, that she hoped he would continue in her service; and that she would answer for the proper conduct of all the ministers towards him. But at the end she became more candid than it was possible not to be deeply moved with: “I must request your grace,” said her majesty, “that you will not suffer any vote of thanks to you to be moved in parliament this year, because my ministers will oppose it.” To which the duke calmly answered—“I shall always be ready to serve your majesty; if what has recently passed should not incapacitate me.”

On his arrival, he had been visited by most of the ministers. Harley, however, met him first at the council; and the queen is supposed by some to have entertained thoughts of removing all coldness between them. We find St. John, however, writing in a

very curious and suspicious manner to Mr. Drummond. "The great man (as he invidiously calls him) had been gratified in every point, which regarded him, as Duke of Marlborough, or as a general." He adds:—

"He has been told by the Duke of Shrewsbury, by Mr. Harley, and by your humble servant, that since the queen agrees to his commanding the army, it is our duty, and also our interest, to support him if possible, better than he ever yet was; and that he may depend upon this. He has seen in other instances, that we are able to see and to pursue that which was right; why should he think us so capable of judging on this occasion so wrong? He was told at first that he had nothing to reproach us with; that his wife, my Lord Godolphin, and himself, had thrown the queen's favour away, and that he ought not to be angry if other people had taken it up. He was told that his true interest consisted in getting rid of his wife, who was grown to be irreconcilable with the queen, as soon as he could, and with the best grace which he could. He has been told that he must draw a line between all that is past, and all that is to come, and that he must begin entirely upon a new foot; and that if he looked back to make complaints, he would have more retorted upon him than it was possible to answer; that, if he would make his former conduct the rule of his future behaviour, he would render his interests incompatible with those of the queen. What is the effect of all this plain dealing? He submits, he yields, he promises to comply; but he struggles to alleviate Meredyth's disgrace, and make the queen make a less figure by going back, than she could have done, by taking no notice at all of the insolence of him and his comrades. He is angry at the Duke of Argyle's being appointed to command in Spain, and would, I suppose, have him punished, for acting on a plan, which we have all, the queen herself even, been concerned in. In short, to finish this description, I doubt, he thinks it possible for him to have the absolute power, which he was once vested with; and believes perhaps, that those who serve the queen, are

weak enough not to see the use, that he would make of it. Once more, by all the judgment which I can form, the exterior is a little mended, but at heart the same sentiments remain, and these heightened and inflamed by what he calls provocation. We shall do what we can to support him in the command of the army, without betraying our mistress; and unless he is infatuated, he will help us in this design; for you must know the moment he leaves the service, and loses the protection of the court, such scenes will open as no victories will varnish over."

The ministers were, nevertheless, greatly apprehensive, that the duke would throw up his command. In fact he had resolved to do so, should the duchess be removed. Her grace, however, earnestly desired him not to sacrifice the public good for her: at the same time she wished him to lose no time in ascertaining what the designs of the queen were. The Duke of Shrewsbury, at the same time, knowing that the queen's intention was to demand her grace's key of office, advised him to try the effect of his own personal solicitations, before it was demanded.

Thus advised, his grace took the benefit of an audience he had solicited (Jan. 17, 1711), to present her majesty with a letter, couched in very humble terms, from the duchess. The queen received the letter with great coldness, and, for some time, refused to open it. At length, however, she did so, and, having read it, she assured his grace she would not change her resolution. On this the duke, in rather, as we think, too abject a manner, entreated the queen to remember the services of both; how once she had regarded them; how she had in earlier years loved the duchess; that her grace was sorry for any offence she had unwittingly given her, and that she would never be guilty of the like again. To these entreaties and exhortations, the queen

returned no favourable answers; but, on the contrary, insisted, in a very peremptory manner, that the gold key should be given up within three days.

Hearing this, the duke still further forgot what was due to his own honour and services. He threw himself upon his knees! and in a most moving manner intreated for a suspension of ten days. The queen made no other answer, than that she insisted upon the duchess giving up the key in two days instead of three. On this the duke resumed his feet and began talking of the cruelty he had experienced, in regard to the dismissal of his favourite officers, when the queen interrupted his exhortation by—"I will talk of no other business, till I have the key."

When the duchess became acquainted with all this, she exhorted the duke to lose no time, but to go at once and deliver up the key. After some hesitation, he did as the duchess required. He went, the same evening, and delivered it into her majesty's hands.

His grace had frequently declared, that the duchess and he would fall together. This resolution, however, he did not reduce to practice; and if we are to attribute his not doing so to a deep sense of what was due to the public good, as we are assured it was, no words, our language can furnish, were adequate to the expression of our gratitude and admiration. That such was his motive, there can be no honest or reasonable doubt. But that he did not fulfil his threat is deeply to be lamented. In an evil hour he listened to the earnest exhortations of his friends at home, and his allies abroad; and "continued in the command," as Mr. Coxe truly states, "only to encounter the disgrace and persecution with which he had been threatened, and to lament

the conclusion of that dishonourable peace, which he so much deprecated."

The duchess being dismissed, her place of lady of the wardrobe was conferred on the Duchess of Somerset; and that of keeper of the privy purse on the favourite, Mrs. Masham; and now we have to record two instances of meanness and impropriety, on the part of the duchess, not to be vindicated, and scarcely to be credited. In making up her accounts, she claimed and received 2,000*l.* a year (for nine years), which the queen had offered her, and she had herself declined to accept; and when she gave up her apartments, which she had, in virtue of her places, at the palace, she ordered the locks, and the marble chimney-pieces, which she had put on, to be taken off and sent away. These orders were given; but that, in respect to the chimney-pieces, was not persisted in. It is to be remembered, too, that her grace retained the rangership of Windsor Park; that appointment having been given to her for a certain term of years.

At all times the duke had been subject to unwarrantable aspersions and calumnies: but, at the change of ministers, these aspersions became much more numerous. One thing, however, was fortunate; they at length assumed a tangible shape. Neither Marlborough nor Godolphin had shown any regard to literature or science. They were, in fact, almost entirely ignorant of the influence which some men have upon public affairs, whose temples are their closets. Their successors, more especially Harley and St. John, had a full sense of the force, which this vast engine of policy could throw into their scale. Wit and humour were the scythes they moved; and Prior, and, above all, Swift, were the hands that used them.

These instruments were exercised in the endeavour to bring the parsimony of Godolphin into contempt; and to throw the mantle of prejudice over the victories of Marlborough. The effects of all this are thus stated by Smollett:—"Marlborough, who, a few months before, had been so highly extolled, and caressed, by the representatives of the people, was now become the object of parliamentary hatred and censure, though no sensible alteration had happened in his conduct or success. That hero, who had retrieved the glory of the British arms, won so many battles, subdued such a number of towns and districts, humbled the pride and checked the ambition of France, secured the liberty of Europe, and, as it were, chained victory to his chariot wheels, was, in a few weeks, dwindled into an object of contempt and derision. He was ridiculed in public libels, and reviled in private conversation. Instances were everywhere repeated of his fraud, avarice, and extortion; of his insolence, ambition, and misconduct; even his courage was called in question; and this consummate general was represented as the lowest of mankind."

Such was the effect, even in parliament, of these libels, that, on the 12th of January, among other things, which passed in the House of Lords, the late ministry were censured, as having contributed to all the misfortunes, which had occurred in Spain; by being, in a great measure, the cause of the war in that country having been carried on offensively; a plan decidedly in opposition to the opinion of the Earl of Peterborough. That general was, in consequence, thanked by the House; thereby saddling an imputation on the Earl of Galway. On this Marlborough made an observation, "that it was some-

what strange that generals, who had acted to the best of their understandings, and had even lost their limbs in the service, should be examined, like offenders, about insignificant things." There was, as is but too frequent in political debates, no truth or justice considered. Peterborough, being a tory, was supported by the tories; and Galway, being a whig, was supported by the whigs. The fact, however, was, that Peterborough deserved the thanks for what he had done; and Marlborough and Galway deserved equal thanks for what they had advised.

An ordinary man would have been so disgusted with the conduct and pretensions of the present ministry as to have resigned his command, and left the state to finish the war, as seemed best to the persons by whom it was governed. Not so Marlborough. He desired to finish what he had begun. Insults wounded, but they did not command him. He was pledged to forego his own feelings, and to fulfil obligations he had contracted with elevated parties. These were the Emperor, the Duke of Savoy, the Elector of Hanover, the States, and Prince Eugene. Though slighted, mortified, insulted, and betrayed, he still retained his wonted control over his own passions. His motives, however, as usual, were, by thousands, misinterpreted and maligned. Nothing, according to them, kept him in subjection but insatiable avarice; and, therefore, he preferred surrendering his wife's places, in order to make his own the more secure!

Previous to his leaving London, the queen wrote to the States, assuring them of her unqualified support; in proof of which, she said, she would order the Duke of Marlborough—in whose conduct she had the greatest confidence and satisfaction—to

repair to Holland, according to their desire. Lord Townsend was recalled from the Hague, and Lord Raby appointed in his place : and, to Marlborough's great mortification, Mr. Hill, Mrs. Masham's brother, was appointed envoy to the States, instead of his excellent friend, Cadogan. But Hill pleading illness, Lord Orrery was named ; a person with whom the duke had some reason to be dissatisfied.

Marlborough, having taken leave of the queen,—when her majesty condescended to give strong professions in regard to her confidence in his zeal and service, with an earnest assurance as to her resolution to support the general interest,—left London, and arrived at the Hague on the 4th of March, greatly to the satisfaction of the confederated powers. He was, however, no longer plenipotentiary. He was no longer armed with discretionary powers. He was but a phantom of what he had been. He was not even admitted behind the scenes. A clandestine intercourse was going on between France and the ministry, in regard to which he could only every now and then glean some imperfect particulars. Previous to their being in power, Louis had made overtures to the tories. Now they were in power, they acknowledged those overtures. Marlborough was confined to military operations. These were put upon a respectable footing. The emperor and the Duke of Savoy had made up their differences ; and the troubles in Hungary having been allayed, the emperor was enabled to support the war in the Netherlands more strenuously, than he was ever before enabled to do. Prince Eugene, therefore, and the duke assisted each other in laying a plan of operations, which should conquer, as they declared and hoped, the monarchy of Spain in the bosom of France.

In the meantime, the king of that country was not dismayed by the storm he saw gathering round him. The fact, indeed, was, he hoped to gain the object he sought, not in the field, but in the cabinet. The parties, however, from whom he hoped, were at present but a bunch of reeds. A faction was formed against Harley and his associates by a considerable number of jacobites and violent tories, with Rochester at their head. This created a system of affairs so intricate and dangerous, that even Swift was compelled to make an extraordinary confession:—"The kingdom is certainly ruined as much as bankrupt merchants. We must have peace, let it be a bad or good one, though nobody dare talk of it. The nearer I look upon things, the worse I like them: the confederacy will soon break to pieces, and our factions at home increase; the ministry are upon a narrow bottom, and stand like an isthmus, between the whigs on one side, and the violent tories on the other. They are able seamen; but the tempest is too great."

Now, also, began a new system of intrigue. The queen began to perceive, that in her late conduct, she had gone too far; and Harley and St. John began adopting a series of courtships towards the duke. Their especial organ, Swift, was employed to flatter and to dispose him to their toils. He had taunted his grace, and insulted him in a thousand paragraphs. He now sought to neutralize those insults. "Nobody, that I know of," said he, in the *Examiner*, (No. 28) "ever did dispute the Duke of Marlborough's courage, conduct, or success; they have been always unquestionable, and will continue to be so, in spite of the malice of his enemies, or what is yet more, the weakness of his advocates. The nation only wishes to see him taken out of ill hands, and put into better."

The two ministers themselves acted the same part. St. John wrote to his grace, assuring him of the queen's favour; and, having done so, made use of an exceedingly artful expression: "I hope never to see again the time, when I shall be obliged to embark in a separate interest from you."

This language, however, did not deceive Marlborough. He knew the writer, at length, well. He was assured, that it proceeded merely from fear. "I know all of them," he wrote to the duchess, "so perfectly well, that I shall always be upon my guard." "Be careful in what you write." "As I love you with all my heart and soul, and could venture my life to give you ease, I hope what I so earnestly desire for my own quiet, may not be uneasy to you—my thoughts are, that you and I should endeavour all we can not to have enemies; for if we flatter ourselves with the having many friends, it is not to be expected, when favour is lost, as ours is entirely." He then goes on to observe—"Our affairs are in so bad a condition, that I almost despair of having any good success this summer; so that I fear I shall have no other prospect than torment and vexation. But what may happen, or become of me, may God Almighty bless you, and make you happy, as much as may be possible in this world."

The ministers now felt assured, that if they wished to stand, they must court the whigs with as much solicitude, as they had before violated their faith to them and calumniated their characters. This was their consciousness, when an incident occurred, which rendered Harley an object of consideration throughout the whole country. The Marquis de Guiscard had been employed by Marlborough; and subsequently by Harley and St. John. He knew, there-

fore, several state secrets. These he offered to betray to the French government ; and his offer being detected, he was arrested on a charge of high treason. On the 8th of March he was taken before a committee of the privy council. At first he boldly denied his guilt ; but certain of his letters being produced, he was roused to such fury, that he escaped from the messenger, into whose custody he had been committed, and rushed forward with a view of stabbing St. John with a knife he had contrived to secrete. St. John being seated on the opposite side of the table, Guiscard was unable to reach him ; upon which he turned suddenly to Harley, and struck him in the breast, exclaiming, "*A toi, donc !*" The knife, lighting on the bone, broke about half an inch from the handle. He then proceeded to give another blow with the broken blade, when St. John and other members of the council rushed upon him with their swords drawn, and, after receiving several wounds, the marquis was secured, and conveyed, the same day, to Newgate, where he soon afterwards died of the wounds he had received in the rencontre.

The marquis's motives for this attempt have been variously stated. What he stated himself, a little before his death, was, that his first object was to stab St. John ; and that as he could not accomplish that, he thought it would be some consolation to stab him, whom he thought St. John loved best. His true reasons, however, have never been ascertained.

This incident was of great service to Mr. Harley. All parties united in execrating the perpetrator of this deed. Harley's door was besieged from morning till night with anxious enquirers after his health : even the public business was suspended ; and all

things seemed to hang upon Mr. Harley's recovery. This was at no great distance. His wound was soon pronounced not mortal; and he was, after a few weeks, so far recovered as to give notice, that he should be in the House of Commons in a few days. Indeed this incident was so productive of good to Harley, that some persons went even so far as to conjecture, and then to assert, that part of Mr. Harley's illness was feigned; and that it was not impossible that the whole was no other than a scene, got up for the purpose of rendering Mr. Harley an object of interest to the whole kingdom. Such, however, was not the opinion of parliament: for when he was expected to be in the House of Commons in a few days, the House came to the unanimous resolution, that the Speaker should, in the name of its members, congratulate Mr. Harley on his recovery from "the barbarous and villanous attempt, that had been made upon him by the Sieur de Guiscard."

No one was more shocked at this attempt than Marlborough; and his letters to Harley in consequence were dictated in terms, evidently indicative, that he no longer felt for his former ingratitude.

Shortly after this the Emperor (Joseph I.) was taken ill of the small-pox. The whole of Europe, therefore, was about to sustain a signal change. The emperor died in a few days after he was seized with the illness. He died at Vienna in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign, on the 16th of April, at eleven in the morning. Prince Eugene, in consequence of this, was immediately sent for to take the command of the empire as marshal. His highness took with him all his cavalry and a considerable part of his foot.

Charles having now become heir of the house of Austria, became a candidate for the throne of the empire. Jealousies, however, had been, and were still, excited against the increasing power of this house; lest it should, in the person of Charles, unite its hereditary dominions with the Spanish monarchy, and thereby consolidate a power equal to that which, under Charles V., had, so long and in so fatal a degree, threatened the liberties of Europe. France, however, secretly prompted the aspiration of Charles, and openly supported that of the Elector of Bavaria: and this conduct was far from being unwelcome to the British ministry.

The French had been busily employed, during the autumn and throughout the winter, in forming and strengthening a series of lines, extending from Namur to the coast of Picardy near Montreuil; and so firmly did Villars rely upon the strength of these defences, that he publicly boasted of having, at last, brought Marlborough to his *ne plus ultra*. The departure of Eugene, also, filled him with such joy, that he sent to tell the duke, that he should be 30,000 men at least stronger than all the allies put together. Upon this Marlborough wrote to Godolphin, and, in allusion to this message, said,—“I know not what projects the emperor’s death may put them upon, on the side of Germany; but if their superiority be as great as he says it will be, I should not apprehend much from them, but that of their being able to hinder us from acting; which, to my own particular, would be mortification enough; for since constant success has not met with approbation, what may I not expect, when nothing is done! As I rely much on Providence, so shall I be ready of improving all occasions that may offer.”—“I have already told

you," said he in a letter to the duchess, "that we are very considerably weaker, and the enemy much stronger, than the last campaign; so that God only knows how this may end."

Whatever superiority of numbers the French might have possessed, the king was now playing too sure a game with the British cabinet, to hazard any chances in the field: Villars, therefore, received positive instructions not to risk an engagement. Marlborough offered him battle on the plains of Lens; and Villars threw eighteen bridges over the Scarpe, as a demonstration of acceptance; but he was too wise to act in contradiction to the instructions he had received.

The negotiation, opened by Louis with the British ministry, now began to assume some real and positive shape; and Lord Raby, with a hint that he should make no communication to the general, received from St. John a sketch of articles, which, as preliminaries, had been offered by the French king, as the foundation of a general treaty of peace; an option being allowed to the British ministry, whether they chose to treat in conjunction with the ministers of all the confederates, or with the Dutch alone: The place of congress to rest with the queen; whether at Liege, or Aix-la-Chapelle.

While this was transacting, Harley brought forward his celebrated scheme for satisfying the public debt; a plan which the parliament did him the honour to approve, without entering any way into a consideration of it. It was hailed as a great effort of financial genius, and eagerly embraced. Harley was, therefore, at the zenith of popularity; and, as if to secure that elevation the more permanently, his most powerful rival for the favour of her majesty, Lord Rochester, died on the very day, on which

this memorable scheme was laid before parliament. He was now, therefore, sole regent, as it were; the idol of no small portion of the public; paramount in the cabinet; almost absolute in the Commons; of great authority in the Lords; and, to add to his pride, vanity, and consideration, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Harley of Wigmore, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. He was, also, a few days after, constituted Lord High Treasurer; while the person, who was to act as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was so much of a cipher, that his name is almost entirely forgotten: nor shall we assist to redeem it from oblivion.

Harley's elevation was the signal for attack upon his timid, but virtuous predecessor, who, with others of the late administration, were charged with speculation and plunder. The censure was general; but it was evident to see, that Godolphin was the person principally aimed at; the general charge being, that £35,302,107 remained unaccounted for; of a great part of which no accounts had ever been so much as laid before the auditor. If this had been true, we should have had no difficulty in judging of the motives which, for so long a period, had induced the late ministers to submit to such a series of insults, rather than resign their stations. The effect was instantaneous and electrical. The whigs became objects of universal censure and fury. But Oxford, as we must now call him, did not enjoy his elevation without some drawbacks. St. John had become his rival; not in the queen's favour, but in political ambition; and what his feeling had some time been, may, perhaps, be ascertained from what he wrote to Lord Orrery:—"Since his recovery, Mr. Harley has not appeared at the council, or at the treasury at all;

and very seldom in the House of Commons. We, who are reputed to be in his intimacy, have few opportunities of seeing him, and none of talking freely with him. As he is the only true channel, through which the queen's pleasure is conveyed, so there is, and must be, a perfect stagnation, till he is pleased to open himself, and set the water flowing."

Oxford was too discerning not to understand on what precarious footing all ministers stand. He resumed, therefore, we are told, "his former policy of cajoling all parties, and endeavoured to sustain his credit and power by luring their cupidity, or exciting their mutual antipathies." We cannot follow him in all these manœuvres. We can only say a few words, and those chiefly in respect to the death of Newcastle, and the appointment of his successor. The duke having died unexpectedly (of an apoplexy), great interest was made by a variety of parties for the office, his grace had left vacant: viz. that of lord privy seal. Amongst others were the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Buckingham, and Leeds; the Earl of Nottingham, and his brother, Lord Guernsey; the Earls of Clarendon and Jersey; and the Duke of Somerset recommended Lord Somers. Thus entangled, Oxford scarcely knew whom to choose. At length he fixed upon the Earl of Jersey; but that nobleman dying suddenly, on the very day on which he was to be appointed, the office was, unexpectedly by all parties, and without any precedent for its justification, conferred on Dr. Robinson, Dean of Windsor; register of the order of the garter; and soon raised to the bishopric of Bristol. To lessen his difficulties, and to add to his strength, too, Oxford looked towards the Duke of Marlborough, his first patron; the man he had calumniated, and whose

interests he had betrayed; and one from whom he had received a thousand benefits. Marlborough felt the injuries, he had sustained from this artful and unworthy man; but he saw, also, that his interests might be advanced from affecting not to see. He therefore adopted the flattering style of the new lord-treasurer. "Your lordship's last letters give me so much encouragement to correspond with you, for the future, in terms of confidence and friendship, that I cannot forbear to offer to you such thoughts, relative to the service, as occur to me." The duke then goes on to inform him, that the enemy had brought forward a large train of artillery, with all sorts of ammunition and other necessities for a siege, to Cambray, where they were then actually erecting magazines, as well as at Valenciennes and Bouchain. The duke then informs him that he had a plan to propose in regard to the operations, he wished to undertake; and towards the close he states that, if agreeable to his lordship, he would send over Lord Stair to communicate with him: Lord Stair being already fully acquainted with the desire he had to live with the minister in the strictest friendship that might be!

Oxford's answer being equally flattering, Lord Stair was sent over; and being admitted to the council, he explained the whole of Marlborough's mind, which was to the effect, that he wanted to be permitted to resign his post to one more agreeable to the queen and her ministry, who would carry on the war to the objects wished by the confederates:—or continue at the head of the army, provided he could regain the confidence of her majesty, and live with the present lord treasurer on the same friendly footing, he had done with the last. His plan was then

laid before the council. Its scope was this :—to keep the greatest part of the army in the situation in which it then was during the whole winter. This would oblige the enemy to do the same. But the expense would be much greater to the French, than to the allies : the chief good resulting from which would be, that the allies would be in a condition to take the field so early in the spring, that the enemy would not be able to prevent an attack either upon Arras, or upon Cambray, as might be thought most conducive to the common cause.

This project having received the approbation of the queen and the ministers, Marlborough began operations preparatory to the investment of Bouchain.

His great anxiety was, lest the enemy should take permanent possession of Arleux. If he took it himself, he knew that Villars would take it again, as soon as he had withdrawn his troops to a distance. He, therefore, resolved to take it, and then to put it in a state of defence : with a view of making the French general think, that he thought it of great importance as a place of defence. This he accomplished. He took the town ; put it in the state he wished ; then withdrew, leaving a small garrison. Villars, seeing the allies remove, sent part of his army to retake it ; when Marlborough finding the enemy had fallen into his trap, by their division of the army, got within their lines without the loss of a single man ! those lines, which Villars had represented to his sovereign as the *ne plus ultra* of Marlborough.

This was the finest operation of the whole war ; and we should have been happy to have described it in detail ; but the space, to which we are limited, renders it impossible.

The allies would have willingly "bought these lines at the expense of thousands of men," says Lediard; "but by Marlborough's wisdom they became masters of them, with no other cost but that of a little fatigue, and a diligent and assiduous march of their troops." Villars now endeavoured to allure them to a battle, as the only means of wiping off the disgrace he had sustained; and even the Dutch deputies were so elated with this great and unexpected success, that they urged the general to attack the enemy. Marlborough, however, thought better; resolving to wait the arrival of the rear-guard and the fatigued troops. At the rising of a council, which had been held, therefore, the army advanced almost within cannon-shot of Cambray; and this movement alone was sufficient to prevent Villars from attempting, as he had meditated, and as Marlborough had foreseen, the passage of the Scheldt.

Bouchain was now open to a siege. All around Marlborough, however, advised him not to undertake that operation; but he had laid his plan and taken his measures so well, that he felt certain of success, and therefore was resolved to venture it, amidst all the impediments that stood in his way. He first, however, wrote home to give an account of what had been accomplished. News of it was sent, also, to the States by the Dutch deputies. When it arrived at the Hague, no encomiums were thought too great for the general, who had, with such ease, accomplished so difficult an operation. But the satisfaction and joy were far from being so great and general in England. The ministry—especially St. John—inquired of Cadogan why the general had not ventured to fight, since Villars had invited him to it? There were some in Holland, too, who thought

it ought to have been risked : and Marlborough, thinking it possible, that the same sentiment might prevail at Vienna, wrote letters in vindication of the conduct he had adopted ; in these he states, that one reason, why he had not accepted the invitation, was, that it was “ an impossibility.” And in the certainty that, in the position in which he was, the duke’s opinion was better than that of all others, we pass on. “ God be thanked,” said he, at the close of his letter to Count Zinzendorff ; “ we have succeeded in closing the communication between the army of M. Villars and the town of Bouchain, and in two or three days we shall open the trenches.”

The duke now laid siege to Bouchain ; the armies being so near that the besiegers were bombarded by the enemy ; and the sentinels of the two armies had frequent conversations with each other. The only advantage Villars gained by this was, that he had, after a while, the mortification of seeing the garrison march out as prisoners of war. Before this, however, something having occurred to alarm them, the Dutch deputies urged the duke to relinquish the siege : and this with as much earnestness, as they had recently displayed for an ill-timed engagement. Marlborough, nevertheless, determined on going on, and several acts of gallantry are recorded on both sides ; amongst which this :—A young ensign of the regiment Ingoldsby, who was at the head of fifteen grenadiers, seeing, when they were advanced some part of the way in the water, that he must drown, or give up his share of the enterprise and return, chose rather to get upon the shoulders of one of his grenadiers, all of whom were nearly up to the chin in water, till they came to the parapet, when he was one of the first to get into the enemy’s works. Had

he chanced to have been the son of a nobleman, his name had, doubtless, been preserved.

Previous to taking the town we find, that Prince Eugene sent the duke advice, according to his wish, that he should do so. "I am of opinion, that your highness ought to spare no pains to strengthen your intrenchments on both sides of the river as much as possible, so that they may be defended with fewer troops, and that the remainder may be employed wherever it may be necessary. This being executed, nothing more remains to be done than to press the siege, collect forage, and secure the convoy; and from what I know of yours and the enemy's situation, this appears to be practicable. Your highness will please to excuse this liberty, which I have only taken in obedience to your commands, and to the desire you have been pleased to express of knowing my sentiments. I trust I need not repeat, that no one is more interested, than I am, in what concerns you, or wishes you more success in the remainder of the campaign, which may contribute to a good peace."

On the 12th of September the garrison of Bouchain signified a wish to surrender. About noon on that day, the besieged, seeing that the breaches were wide enough, and that all things seemed to indicate a general assault, beat the *chamade*, and hostages being exchanged, the French, who were conducted to General Fagel's quarters, whither the duke and the deputies had repaired, began to propose articles of capitulation. They were, however, immediately answered by the duke stating that he would not read them. "Since the governor has waited to the last extremity," said he, "he has no other terms to expect, but to become prisoners of war. This you will be pleased to communicate to your commander,

and if he will not accept these conditions, the hostages must be sent back."

When the governor heard this, he refused to comply. Hostilities, therefore, immediately recommenced with great fury on both sides. The besiegers made such terrible execution with their cannon, mortars, and small shot, that the besieged were compelled at length to hang out the white flag and beat a parley. Hostages were again exchanged; but the governor still proposing terms, which Marlborough thought him not entitled to, the fire recommenced even with greater fury than before, and at length the garrison, (to the amount of 3000 men) consented to become prisoners of war on the duke's own terms; though in sight of Villars' army, then consisting, it is stated, of not less than 100,000 men.

On the capture of Bouchain, Marlborough determined on laying siege to Quesnoy. We must here, however, allude to a circumstance, that took place after the surrender of Bouchain, viz.: that having done so, complaints were made to Villars, by Count de Ravignan, late governor of the town, that the terms, on which he had capitulated, had not been implicitly observed. Villars wrote to the duke, complaining of breach of faith. On this the duke summoned the deputies, and the complaint having been proved entirely groundless, he wrote an answer, to which were appended the attestations of the deputies, which as Villars and the court of France considered strictly satisfactory, we shall only select one passage from the correspondence; and that is, wherein the British general says—"My manner of acting with many of the general officers, on so many occasions of this nature, ought to be to the king and the whole world as so many pledges of my upright proceeding;

and I flatter myself they will do me the justice to believe, that nothing was done, in the treatment that garrison met with, contrary to the capitulation that was granted them."

We must now give insertion to an anecdote, highly illustrative of Marlborough's character. The estate of Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray, being exposed to plunder—but we will copy the account, given by Mr. Coxe, because it is rendered in a manner worthy of a person of so much learning and taste:—"The character of Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray, is too well known to need any delineation. The estates of his see being exposed to the plunder of the troops, Marlborough ordered a detachment to guard the magazines of corn at Chateau-Cambresis, and gave a safe-conduct for their conveyance to Cambray; and when even this protection, in consequence of the scarcity of bread, was not likely to be respected by the soldiery, he sent a corps of dragoons, with waggons to transport the grain, and escort it to the precincts of the town. Thus did our illustrious general pay homage to the Christian philosopher, who honoured letters by his genius, religion by his piety, France by his renown, and human nature by his virtues; and thus did he, by his conduct towards the author of *Telemachus*, imitate Alexander at the capture of Thebes, when, in the language of our sublime poet (Milton),

'The great Emathian conqueror did spare
The house of Pindarus, when temple and tower
Went to the ground.'—

We have now—though with reluctance—to record an almost unparalleled instance of duplicity on the part of Oxford, and those with whom he acted. While he was writing to Marlborough in the most

friendly terms, promising all manner of supplies for carrying on the war with vigour, he was deliberately deceiving him, and had, at this very moment, brought a secret negociation with France almost to a conclusion. Preliminaries were, indeed, actually agreed upon. They had, in truth, ample reason for such secrecy ; for they well knew, they could never hope to have the sanction of Marlborough to such a peace as they were on the point of making. As long as the duke was at the head of the army, the scheme could never be effected.

To answer the overtures from the French monarch, Matthew Prior (the once celebrated poet) was sent over with all imaginable secrecy : and the true cause of his being selected was, that he was personally acquainted with the Marquis de Torcy, the projector of this negociation. At the expiration of six weeks, he had brought the preliminaries to a consistence, and was returning with the same secrecy as he had set out, in company with the marquis's secretary, when, not being provided with passports, they were both arrested as spies by the mayor, on their arrival at Dover ; and a packet, Prior had brought, was kept, till an order from the court arrived to set him free : and by this accident the secret came to be known.

Hearing of this, Marlborough wrote to Lord Oxford to request to know what all this meant, and to be informed of what was passing. The wily minister wrote an evasive reply ; and to give him no cause of complaint, or rather to lull the duke's suspicions, made use of several flattering expressions ; amongst which these :—" And now, since I must shake off myself, I can say no more than this, that I shall leave it to my actions to speak for me ; and so give your grace demonstration, that I am the same man towards you, as I was the first day I had the honour of your

acquaintance ; and I shall as heartily promote everything under your care, as I did, or would have done, in any time since I have been known to you."

St. John kept up the same deception. Both affected to approve of his plan of besieging Quesnoy ; fully assured, at the same time, that the Dutch would neither consent to, nor advance any money towards a design, not likely to be carried into execution. At length Marlborough was instructed, that a negotiation was going on with France ; but that nothing would be done without the concurrence of the States : that the queen would enter into no separate treaty, nor would receive any proposition without communicating it to the States. Notwithstanding these assurances, no official communications were made of the preliminary articles, proposed by the French court ; although they were signed on the 27th of September by M. Mesnager, who had accompanied Prior to England, on the part of France ; and by the two secretaries of state, in virtue of a warrant from the queen.

In this "dishonourable instrument," says Mr. Coxe, "the only specific propositions were, the acknowledgment of the queen's title and the protestant succession by the King of France, and his engagement to take all just and reasonable measures, that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united on the head of the same prince, from a persuasion that this excess of power would be contrary to the good and quiet of Europe. Thus, with a single stroke of the pen, was overturned the leading principle of the grand alliance, that no Bourbon prince should ever fill the throne of Spain. A secure and convenient barrier was, indeed, promised to the States, the empire and the house of

Austria; but without the mention of any precise cession. Dunkirk was to be demolished, but a proper equivalent was to be settled on in the conferences; and the pretensions of the allies were to be discussed *bonâ fide* and amicably, and nothing omitted to terminate them to the satisfaction of all parties."

An official copy of these preliminaries was sent over to the States, and their consent demanded in a manner sufficiently peremptory. They were, however, received with so much indignation, that Buys, pensionary of Amsterdam, was sent to England to remonstrate.

The Dutch having signified great dislike that the siege of Quesnoy should be undertaken, Marlborough gave up the thought, and made preparations to close the campaign, by sending his troops into winter quarters. He quitted Bouchain, Oct. 25; having first put it in a good posture of defence; and then went to Tournay, where he was hospitably entertained by Lord Albemarle, governor of that fortress. On the 3d of November he arrived at Antwerp, attended by several general officers, under a triple discharge of artillery. He there supped with the Cardinal de Bouillon, and dined, the next day, with the Marquis de Terracina, governor of the citadel, who had invited all the people of quality and consideration to a feast, in honour of his imperial majesty (Charles VI.), who had been some time before elected to that dignity, in room of his brother, the late Emperor Joseph. On the 5th, he arrived at the Hague; where he entered into consultation with the States-general, as well relating to peace as the prosecution of the war.

Marlborough was one of those superior spirits, who are appreciated everywhere better than in their

own country; and at no period of his career did party attempt to lessen his merits more than at this. He was sensibly affected by this malice: and became more so on learning, on his arrival at the Hague, that he was accused, not only of extortion, but of fraud and embezzlement of the public money.

Mr. Lockhart had reported from the commissioners, who had been appointed the preceeding year to take and report the accounts, some practices, which they had discovered, relating to the affairs of the army. Among these was one which more particularly regarded the Duke of Marlborough; viz. the deposition of Sir Solomon Medina, proving that great sums had been taken by the Duke of Marlborough, and Mr. Cardonnel, his secretary, on account of contracts for bread and bread-waggons, in the Low Countries. These depositions the clerk of the house was ordered to keep very carefully, and to let no person have them, on any account, out of their hands; but that he should deliver copies to any member of the house who should desire to have them. From this report it appeared, that the duke had received, on account of the bread and bread-waggon contracts, from Sir Solomon de Medina, 332,425 guilders; and from Antonio Alvarez Machabo, other sums; in all amounting to £63,319.

The affair having been treated rather mysteriously, the public became greatly excited. Marlborough was held up to the world in a very odious light; and considered,—though the evidence was sufficiently suspicious,—as a public defaulter. On learning this, the duke made no delay, but instantly entered on his defence. “Gentlemen,” said he, in a letter to the commissioners, “having been informed, on my arrival here, that Sir Solomon de Medina has ac-

quainted you with my having received several sums of money from him, that it might make the less impression on you, I would lose no time in letting you know, that this is no more than what has been allowed as a perquisite to the general, or commander-in-chief of the army in the Low Countries even before the Revolution, and since ; and I do assure you, at the same time, that whatever sums I have received on that account have been constantly employed for the service of the public, in keeping secret correspondence, and getting intelligence of the enemy's motions and designs."

The duke wrote also to the lord treasurer, in which, among several interesting expressions, are these :—"When you have taken the pains to read the enclosed copy, pray be so kind as to employ your good offices, so that it may be known I have the advantage of your friendship. No one knows better than your lordship the great use and expense of intelligence, and no one can better explain it ; and 'tis for that reason I take the liberty to add a further request, that you would be so kind as to lay the whole, on some fitting opportunity, before the queen ; being well persuaded her majesty, who has so far approved, and so well rewarded my services, would not be willing they should now be reflected on." "My lord," continued he, "you see I make no scruple to give you a little trouble, which, to a temper like yours, rather increases than diminishes the pleasure of doing a good office. I do, therefore, boldly claim the benefit of your friendship, and am so sanguine as to expect the good effects of it, which I shall make it my constant business to deserve. The endeavours of our enemies to destroy the friendship between us will double mine to continue and

improve it, and I have now the greater desire to be at home, that I may explain to you what I cannot so well write, I mean the true sincerity wherewith I am, &c. &c."

"I wish I had your good temper and judgment," he wrote to Lord Godolphin; "for then I should not be vexed, as I am now, at the villanous libels, which appear every day; but of this more when I have the happiness of being with you."

Soon after writing these letters, the duke returned to England, and arrived at Greenwich on the day in which it was then customary for the mob to burn the effigies of the Pope, the Devil, and the Pretender. Not choosing to be thought countenancing this absurd matter, he stopped at Greenwich till the next day, when he passed through London and proceeded to Hampton Court, to pay his respects to the queen, who was pleased to receive him in a very gracious manner.

The next few days were devoted to visiting the principal ministers of the government; amongst whom, to show that he entertained no personal dissatisfaction, he paid his compliments to the Earl of Oxford. He was, at the same time, greatly averse to the treaty that was carrying on with the French ministry; and this annoyed St. John. "I hear," said he, in a letter to one of his friends, "that, in his conversation with the queen, the Duke of Marlborough has spoken against what we are doing. In short, his fate hangs heavy upon him; and he has of late pursued every counsel, which was the worst for him." The duke's opposition was the less tasteful to the ministry, since peace was now the universal subject of conversation, and her majesty had named her plenipotentiaries, and given commission to the Bishop of Bristol, lord privy seal, and the Earl of

Strafford ; for whom instructions were actually drawing up.

The time for opening the parliament approaching, pains were taken by many persons to persuade the members to agree to the measures the court were in. It was said, that the duke had spoken very plainly to her majesty ; but that he found her so possessed, that what he said made no impression ; so he desired to be excused going to the council.

In the mean time his friends were not idle ; and amongst other defenders was found Sir Robert Walpole, who, in a very masterly manner, exposed the fallacy of the charge brought against the duke, in a pamphlet, entitled *The Thirty-five Millions accounted for* ; and to this work we refer our readers for a full answer to the charge.

Marlborough, the whigs, and the Earl of Nottingham, were now united as it were in one body ; and several of the continental powers remonstrated against the negociation ; amongst which no one more powerfully than the Elector of Hanover.

Parliament met on the 7th of December, when the queen, in her speech from the throne, stated that both the place and the time were appointed for a general peace, in concert with her allies, the States-general, (whose interest she looked upon as inseparable from her own,) notwithstanding *the arts of those who delighted in war*. She said, the ready concurrence of the States showed that they reposed an entire confidence in her ; and she promised to do her utmost to procure reasonable satisfaction for all her allies. She asked the necessary supplies for carrying on the war ; but expressed her assurance, that no good Protestant would envy her the glory of ending a tedious and expensive war by a just and honourable peace.

The reference here made to the States-general in this speech, was a palpable untruth ! for the States were decidedly against the treaty. The expression of “ the arts of those who delighted in war,” was evidently levelled at the Duke of Marlborough.

On leaving the house, her majesty took off her royal robes ; and expecting (as it happened) that very warm debates would arise, she returned incognito into the house, hoping by her presence to restrain the heats of it. The expedient, however, proved ineffectual ; for the Earl of Ferrers having made the customary motion for an address, the Earl of Nottingham suddenly arose, and in a long and elaborate speech, opened an attack against the ministers ; and closed with moving that a clause be added to the address, that it was “ the humble opinion and advice of the house, that no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain, or Europe, if Spain or the West Indies should be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon.”

On this, a warm debate ensued ; and some peers having stated that they were not prepared to speak to the motion, Lord Sunderland answered smartly, “ What ! my lords, is it possible that any member of this illustrious house should be unprepared to debate an affair which, for these ten years past, has been the principal subject-matter of our consultations ? Do we not sit in the same house ? and are we not the same peers, who have constantly been of opinion, and have often represented to her majesty, that no safe or honourable peace can be made, unless Spain and the West Indies be recovered from the house of Bourbon ? It is true, that I see some new faces among us ; but even the noble lord who sits upon the woolsack,” (the lord treasurer,) “ may well remember that, in the

late reign, four lords were impeached for having made a partition treaty."

The Earl of Anglesea, who had arrived but that very day in London, together with the Duke of Ormond, from Ireland, represented the insufferable burden under which the nation groaned, and the necessity there was of making a peace; the conclusion of which ought, in his opinion, to be left entirely to her majesty's wisdom; adding, "We might have enjoyed the blessing of peace soon after the battle of Ramillies, had it not been designedly put off by some persons, whose interest it was to prolong the war."

Hearing this, the duke, conceiving these observations to be levelled at him, instantly rose:—"I appeal to the queen," said his grace, "whether I did not constantly, while I was plenipotentiary, give her majesty and her council an account of all the propositions that were made, and whether I did not desire instructions for my conduct on this subject? I can declare, with a good conscience, in the presence of her majesty, of this illustrious assembly, and of God himself, who is infinitely superior to all the powers of earth, and before whom, by the ordinary course of nature, I shall soon appear, to render an account of all my actions, that I was very desirous of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace; and was always very far from prolonging the war for my own private advantage, as several libels and discourses have most falsely insinuated. My great age, and numerous fatigues in war, make me ardently wish for the power to enjoy a quiet repose, in order to think of eternity. As to other matters, I had not the least inducement, on any account, to desire the continuance of the war for my own particular interest, since my services have been so generously rewarded by

her majesty and her parliament; but I think myself obliged to make such an acknowledgment to her majesty and my country, that I am always ready to serve them whenever my duty may require, to obtain an honourable and lasting peace. Yet I can, by no means, acquiesce in the measures, that have been taken to enter into a negociation of peace with France upon the foot of some pretended preliminaries which are now circulated; since my opinion is the same as most of the allies, that to leave Spain and the West Indies to the house of Bourbon will be the entire ruin of Europe; and this I have, with all fidelity and humility, declared to her majesty, when I had the honour to wait on her after my arrival from Holland. I therefore support the motion for inserting the proposed clause in the address."

So solemn a declaration, made in the presence of her majesty, delivered in so pathetic a manner, and before so august an assembly, produced a great sensation. Out of doors it removed the prejudice, conceived against him by many; and in the eye of posterity has entirely cleared him of a charge laid against him, with so little appearance of truth, though kept up then by the clamour of the giddy and unthinking vulgar. The clause was warmly supported by Cowper, (late lord-chancellor,) Halifax, and Bishop Burnet, and only feebly opposed by the subordinate members of the government. A motion for the previous question was lost by the casting vote of Nottingham, and the clause itself carried by a majority of sixty-four to fifty-two. On the address, with this alteration, being presented to the queen, her majesty was pleased to answer—"I take your thanks kindly, but should be sorry, that any one should think I would not do my utmost to recover

Spain and the West Indies from the house of Bourbon." When, however, a similar clause was proposed in the House of Commons, it was rejected with disdain, by a majority of 232 against 106.

The preponderance being so great in the House of Peers, in opposition to the ministry, the members of it exercised no small ingenuity and industry to divide their opponents. The queen, however, began to be alarmed, notwithstanding the majority in the House of Commons. "Her aversion to the whigs," adopting the language of Mr. Coxe, "her dislike of the Duchess of Marlborough, and the opposition she had encountered in the disposal of civil and military offices, together with the revived attachment to her family, had induced her to dismiss her late ministers, and to appoint an administration nominally composed of tories. But the difficulties, which occurred in the negociations abroad, the shame of deserting the principles of the grand alliance, and the checks she experienced, even from the ministers of her choice, in the nomination to the officers of her own household, excited frequent fits of discontent. Indeed the tories managed so ill with her majesty, that she was often heard to exclaim, that, if she was to be kept in bondage, she might as well have retained her former 'guardians' as the present. The ministry felt accordingly exceedingly insecure; and the whole party became, by the division of its chiefs, and the successful progress of the whigs, agitated with despondency and doubt. Added to all this, they felt greatly indignant, that Marlborough should have occasioned them so signal a defeat in the House of Lords. They, by their negociations with France, hoped to have no occasion for his services. They determined to give full scope to their revenge. They

gave, therefore, immediate importance to the charges of the commissioners of accounts, in respect to the deposition of Sir Solomon Medina. An attack had been made before on Lord Godolphin, in respect to moneys unaccounted for; but which were afterwards explained. They now determined to exact a further explanation from Marlborough; affecting to consider his letters from the Hague as incomplete and unsatisfactory."

It is now unnecessary to enter fully into the particulars of this charge; the time being gone by in which it was believed; and we having little space left. The duke's letter to the commissioners, which we inserted a few pages back, having been published in a newspaper, called the *Daily Courant*, was so favourably received by the unbiassed and unprejudiced, that many began to censure the House of Commons for their proceedings against his grace. To meet this, the ministers caused the commissioners' report to be published. The leading feature in this memorable report, as the reader may remember, was the deposition of Sir Solomon Medina; from which it was computed, that Marlborough had received and appropriated, in the space of ten years, the sum of £63,319. 3s. 7d. On the publication of these documents, the ministry resolved to take full advantage of the accusation. They waited not one moment. The means, they employed, were worthy of the men. Without waiting for a substantiation of the charge, vague and unfounded as it was, they induced the queen to order the following entry to be inserted in the council book:—"Being informed that an information against the Duke of Marlborough was laid before the House of Commons by the commissioners of the public accounts, her majesty thought fit to

dismiss him from all his employments, that the matter might undergo an impartial investigation."

This resolution the queen communicated to the duke in a private letter, the next day. On receiving this letter, he threw it immediately into the fire in a transport of indignation : and nothing is known of it but what may be learnt from the answer he instantly wrote.

"MADAM,—I am very sensible of the honour your majesty does me, in dismissing me from your service, by a letter of your own hand, though I find by it, that my enemies have been able to prevail with your majesty, to do it in the manner that is most injurious to me. And if their malice and inveteracy against me had not been more powerful with them than the consideration of your majesty's honour and justice, they would not have influenced you to impute the occasion of my dismissal to a false and malicious insinuation, contrived by themselves, and made public, when there was no opportunity for me to give in my answer, which they must needs be conscious would fully detect the falsehood and malice of their aspersions, and not leave them that handle for bringing your majesty to such extremities against me."

On the day on which the report was published, and the following one, Marlborough made his appearance at court; but "oh the great gods—the meanness of the mighty!" no one spoke to him! He was treated with every neglect and contempt. When the King of France heard all this, he triumphantly wrote to his agent in London—"The dismissal of Marlborough will do for us all we can desire."

The great difficulty now was, how to get all this sanctioned by the House of Lords. Oxford, however, soon showed that he was not at a loss. He and his compeers stretched the royal prerogative to a great

limit. They issued patents, calling no less than twelve peers to the House at once ! When these peers, however, took their seats, they were received by the whig lords with groans. "The tories, indeed, exulted," says Cunningham ; "but the sober whigs cast their eyes to the ground, as if they had been invited to the funeral of the peerage."

The report of the commissioners was taken into consideration on the 24th of January (1712). A violent debate, lasting above eight hours, ensued. The ministry was supported by several speakers of great ability ; amongst whom were St. John, Sir William Windham, and Sir Thomas Hanmer. Marlborough was defended by Sir Richard Onslow, Sir Peter King, Sir Charles Hedges, Mr. Brydges, and Mr. William Pulteney. The issue was, by a majority of above 100 votes, that the taking several sums of money from the contractors for furnishing the bread and the bread-waggons, in the Low Countries, was unwarrantable and illegal. Another motion, also, passed by a great majority ; viz., that the two-and-a-half per cent., deducted from the foreign troops in her majesty's pay, "is public money, and ought to be accounted for."

These resolutions were voted to be laid before the queen, and her majesty's answer was to this effect :—
"Gentlemen,—I have a great regard for whatever is represented to me, by my Commons, and will do my part to redress what you complain of."

An impeachment ought to have followed this ; but the party contented themselves with an order from the queen for the attorney-general to prosecute the duke ; a "forbearance," says Cunningham, "which arose not from any tenderness to his grace, but from a resolution to continue the very perquisites, which

they had so severely reprobated, to their creature, the new commander-in-chief."

Marlborough was urged to appear in the House of Commons against the decision, which had been given, as Lord Somers had done ; and, like him, to enter into a detailed refutation of the calumnies, contained in the report. To this, however, he would not submit : but he caused a vindication of himself to be drawn up and publicly circulated. They had accused him of peculation ; whereas he had merely received the same perquisites, which had always been allowed to the commander-in-chief in those countries, for secret service money ; which he had been privileged to receive, moreover, and to employ without account, by the queen's royal warrant ; and which, as he said in his defence, " from time to time had been used for intelligence and secret service, and with such success, that next to the blessing of the Almighty and the bravery of the troops, we might, in a great measure, attribute most of the advantages of the war in the Low Countries, to the timely and good advice procured with the help of the money." For the whole defence, however, we must refer to Lediard's copy, where the reader will find it at large ; and also to the various magazines and journals of the day. Something of the malignity of the opposite party, however, may be learned from the equivocal manner in which they wrote. " No general," said they, " in the Low Countries had ever received the perquisite, before the Duke of Marlborough." What was the fact ? No British general, before him, had ever commanded there !

Marlborough's defence was allowed to pass unnoticed. If it had contained untruths, the ministry must, according to every principle of prudence, equity

and policy, have voted it a libel. Added to this, several of the foreign princes esteemed the resolution of the House of Commons as an infringement on their rights. They, in consequence, by their ministers in London, represented to the British government, that they had offered the contribution to the new commander-in-chief, as their own free gift. "It was accepted," says Mr. Coxe, "without any scruple of conscience, and not marked by any disapprobation from parliament."

At this period Prince Eugene arrived in London, to arrest, if possible, the progress of the disgraceful treaty of peace, that was now going on. To his coming, the ministry had a strong and decided objection. Finding, however, that they could not prevent it, they, all of a sudden, turned round, and sullenly acquiesced. At the same time, they took care to apprise him, that the less attention he paid to Marlborough, the more agreeable it would be to the queen. This intimation was first given by letter. It was afterwards verbally insinuated by Drummond, a dependant of St. John, sent to receive him. How did the prince repel this insinuation? "It is a mistake," said he, with great surprise and mortification, "to suppose that I am come to England with an intention to give the least disturbance to the ministry; but it is wholly inconsistent with my honour and temper, to be wanting in respect to a friend, in his adverse fortune, for whom I always professed so much regard in the time of his prosperity."

The prince being the most illustrious hero, next to Marlborough, that Europe at this time could boast of, it was thought very extraordinary, that persons should be sent to receive him, when he landed (at

Greenwich), of no higher rank than this Drummond and Mr. Brisden; the former a broken stock-jobber, and the latter an oculist, but a private agent of St. John's.

The prince being, the evening after, introduced to the queen, he delivered a letter to her majesty from the emperor, and requested her to read it, since it would explain the purport of his visit. "I am sorry," said the queen, after slightly glancing over the letter, "that the state of my health does not permit me to speak to your highness as often as I wish; but"—(pointing to Oxford and St. John, the only persons present)—"I have ordered these gentlemen to receive your proposals, whenever you think proper." This said, Eugene took his leave.

The prince was received in a very flattering manner by all ranks of people. He visited both parties; and treated every one with kindness and consideration; giving, however, his confidence only to the whigs. He even assisted at their meetings. Though he had not the good fortune, as will shortly be seen, to succeed in the object of his mission, he had no reason to complain of his treatment; for never was so much respect paid in England to a foreigner before. Vast multitudes crowded to see him, and attended him with loud acclamations wherever he went. His prudent carriage endeared him to every one. The higher classes vied with each other, who should have the honour of entertaining him, with the greatest splendour. Amongst these may be particularly mentioned the Dukes of Marlborough, Ormond, Montague, Shrewsbury, Buckingham, Devonshire, and Richmond; Earls Poulett, Sunderland, Portland, Stair, Wharton, Rivers, and Orkney. Lord Oxford too: and here we must not omit an anecdote,

recorded of his illustrious guest. On the day on which his highness dined at Oxford's house, his lordship, among other compliments, told him, that he looked upon that day as the happiest in the whole course of his life; since he had the honour to see, in his house, the greatest captain of the age. To this the prince shrewdly and wittily replied, that "if indeed it were so, he was indebted for it to his lordship." Meaning to imply, as most people interpreted, that his lordship having been the author of the duke's disgrace, he had rid him of a competitor in military glory.

Nor was the queen backward in testifying her respect to the illustrious person; for on her birthday she presented him with a sword, enriched with diamonds, of no less value than 5,000*l*. And here we may record a remarkable reflection made by Prince Eugene to Bishop Burnet. "In one of the scurrilous papers," says the bishop, "wrote on design to raise the rabble against the Duke of Marlborough, one of the periods began thus:— 'He was, perhaps, once fortunate.' I took occasion (continues he) to let Prince Eugene see the spite of these writers, and mentioned this passage: upon which he made this pleasant reflection: that it was the greatest commendation that could be given to him; since he was always successful: so this implied, that in one single instance he might be fortunate; but that all his other successes were owing to his conduct. Upon that (adds the bishop,) I said, that single instance must be then his escaping out of the hands of the party, which took him when he was falling down the Maese, in a boat."

Finding that the conduct and motives of the emperor were not understood in England, Prince Eugene presented a memorial in vindication of his sovereign.

Receiving, however, only an equivocal reply, he wrote a second memorial, requesting a categorical answer. On this the secretary (St. John) imparted the proposal, made by the emperor, in a message from the queen to the House of Commons; stating, that he had orders from her Majesty to communicate to them a proposition made by Prince Eugene, in the emperor's name, for supporting the war in Spain; viz.—that the emperor judged that 40,000 men would be sufficient for that service; and that the whole expense of the war in Spain might amount to four millions of crowns, towards which his imperial majesty offered to make up the troops, he had in that country, to 30,000, and to take one million upon himself.

This message produced no effect; no one made any observation upon it, good or bad. Seeing, by this, that no hope was left, the prince took his departure; not, however, without first taking an affectionate leave of his friend and partner in glory. And here we may refer the reader to a beautiful paper in the *Spectator* (No. 340), in which Addison gives a noble character of this illustrious person, finishing with these words:—"This I thought fit to entertain my reader with, concerning a hero, who never was equalled but by one man (meaning the Duke of Marlborough); over whom, also, he has this advantage, that he had an opportunity to manifest an esteem for him in his adversity." He embarked at Greenwich on the 17th of March, and returned to Holland, deeply lamenting the disgraceful state of parties; and the policy he had seen practised in England. In regard to the libels, which were heaped upon him, during his stay, and the plots, in which he was accused of being concerned, as they

were mere party libels, with not the slightest foundation, we will not disgrace these pages by noticing them further.

In the mean time the conferences for a negociation of peace were opened at Utrecht. The principle of the alliance had been already abandoned; and instead of embodying, in one general series of articles, the united interest of the whole confederacy, each party was left to prosecute its own interest. In consequence of this, France rose in her demands; and, instead of attempting to treat on the terms formerly proposed, her plenipotentiaries delivered a new series of proposals. On learning this, not only the whigs but many adherents of the government became, the former infuriated, the latter alarmed. The ministry, also, felt so excessively embarrassed, that St. John wrote to the British plenipotentiaries,—“The French will see, that there is a possibility of reviving the love of war in our people, by the indignation which has been expressed at the plan given in at Utrecht.”

In the midst of these difficulties Louis had the misfortune to lose the dauphin, the dauphiness, and their elder son: leaving to the unfortunate, but hitherto unfeeling, monarch a sickly infant in the cradle the only heir to his throne. In this infant, therefore, the powers of Europe saw the only bar to the union of the crowns of France and Spain on the head of Philip, the presumptive heir. To prevent the union of these two crowns in the same person, the queen now demanded, that Philip should renounce either Spain or France. Philip refused to relinquish Spain; and Louis and his ministers declared, with one voice, that, by the French law, he could not abandon his title to the succession of France. This declaration produced new embarrassments; but the clandestine intercourse between Eng-

land and France was still carried on ; and the British ministry accepted the promise of a renunciation of the French crown, by Philip, and agreed to an eventual cessation of arms, on the delivery of Dunkirk. Preparations were, nevertheless, made by the separate parties for the ensuing campaign ; and the Duke of Ormond, the successor of Marlborough, arrived at the Hague : and not being informed of what the ministers were doing in the cabinet, he gave the States-general the strongest assurances, that he was commanded to co-operate with the confederates ; the queen having resolved on prosecuting the war with redoubled energy and strength. He nevertheless soon after received a letter from St. John, in which he said,—“ Her majesty, my lord, has reason to believe, that we shall come to any agreement upon the great article of the union of the two monarchies, as soon as a courier, sent from Versailles to Madrid, can return. It is, therefore, the queen’s positive command to your grace, that you avoid engaging in any siege, or hazarding a battle, till you have further orders from her majesty. I am at the same time directed to let your grace know, that the queen would have you disguise the receipt of this order ; and her majesty thinks that you cannot want pretences for conducting yourself so as to answer her hands, without owning that which might at present have an ill effect, if it was publicly known. The queen cannot think with patience of sacrificing men, when there is a fair prospect of attaining her purpose another way, and, besides, she will not suffer herself to be exposed to the reproach of having retarded, by the events of the campaign, a negotiation which might otherwise have been as good as concluded, in a few days.”

Prince Eugene had been appointed to the command of the Dutch forces. He suspected the treachery of the British ministry; and resolved to put their honesty to the test. A fit opportunity having presented itself, he sent to request the Duke of Ormond to concur in an attack upon the enemy's camp. The duke was confounded by this invitation; and, to get rid of it, sent a request to the prince, that he would postpone his design for some days. The army was greatly indignant at this; and when Eugene sent an expostulation to England, the indignation there was equally great. Marlborough and the whigs, on hearing of it, instantly resolved to arraign the ministry in parliament; the breach of faith being too flagrant. The attack was led by Lord Halifax; and, at the conclusion of his speech, Marlborough rose, and spoke in the following manner:—"After what has been said by the noble lord, nothing remains, for me or any other person, but to second the motion; yet I will venture to trouble your lordships with a few observations on this subject. Although the negotiations for peace may be far advanced, yet I can see no reason which should induce the allies or ourselves to remain inactive, and not push on the war with the utmost vigour, as we have incurred the expense of recruiting the army for the service of another year. That army is now in the field, and it has often occurred, that a victory or a siege produced good effects, and manifold advantages, when treaties were still farther advanced than is the present negotiation. And as I am of opinion that we should make the most we can for ourselves, the only infallible way to force France to an entire submission, is, to besiege and occupy Cambray or Arras, and to carry the war into the heart of that kingdom. But

as the troops of the enemy are now encamped, it is impossible to execute this design unless they are withdrawn from this position; and as they cannot be reduced to retire for want of provisions, they must be attacked and forced. For the truth of what I say, I appeal to a noble duke, (looking at the Duke of Argyle,) whom I rejoice to see in the house, because he knows the country, and is as good a judge of these matters as any person now alive. These observations I have deemed fit to represent to your lordships, and hope they will induce your lordships to agree to the motion, which I second very heartily."

The duke's speech was answered by the Duke of Argyle, who, hating his benefactor, took occasion to be greatly severe on his former commander. Many speeches were made; and the Duke of Devonshire declared that, by proximity of blood, he was more concerned for the Duke of Ormond's reputation than any other; and, therefore, he could not forbear observing, that he was surprised to hear any one dare make use of a nobleman of the first rank, and of so distinguished a character, as an instrument of so disgraceful a proceeding. "No one," answered the Earl of Poulet, "can doubt the Duke of Ormond's bravery; but he does not resemble a certain general, who led troops to the slaughter, to cause a great number of officers to be knocked on the head, in a battle, or against stone walls, in order to fill his pockets, by disposing of their commissions."

The debate went on; Marlborough looking on in silent contempt. As soon as the house rose, however, he sent Lord Mohun to the Earl of Poulet, to inform him, that the duke wished him to go and take the air in the country. Poulet inquired if he were to take that invitation to mean a challenge. "The

message requires no explanation," answered Lord Mohun; "I shall accompany the Duke of Marlborough, and your lordship will do well to provide a second." Lord Poulet was so greatly affected at this, that he could not conceal it from his wife: the consequence of which was, that a hint was immediately communicated to Lord Dartmouth, secretary of state, who went immediately to the duke and desired him not to stir abroad. At the same time his lordship ordered two sentries to be placed at Lord Poulet's house; and having informed the queen of the whole matter, her majesty sent him back to the Duke of Marlborough, to desire that this affair might go no further. Thus ended the first instance on record, of a party duel. "It is sufficient punishment for this slanderer, (Lord Poulet,)" says an elegant and powerful writer, "that he is remembered in history for this, and this only: so easily may the coarsest and meanest mind purchase for itself a perpetuity of disgrace."

The outlines of the treaty of peace being published, great was the surprise and indignation of the better-informed portion of the public in respect to them; since they regarded them as involving the "sacrifice of public honour and the dereliction of public principle." But the tory and Jacobite parties hailed them with exultation and delight: an address was, therefore, carried in the Commons by acclamation. In the Lords, however, notwithstanding the recent creations, the peers in opposition made a vigorous stand. The arrangement which provided for the protestant interest, was received with approbation; but the dishonourable portions of the treaty were stigmatised as they richly deserved. Marlborough was so indignant, that, in a strain which may be

regarded as prophetic, he declared, that the measures pursued in England for the last year, were directly contrary to her majesty's engagements with her allies; that they sullied the triumphs and glories of her reign; and would render the English name odious to all other nations. It is certain, that Marlborough had, of all men, the most right to complain; for the treaty "foiled his plans, frustrated his hopes, and rendered all his victories vain." The Earl of Strafford followed in debate. "Some of the allies, (the Dutch,)" said his lordship, "would not show such backwardness to a peace as they had hitherto done, but for a member of this illustrious house, (the Duke of Marlborough,) who has maintained a secret correspondence with them, and endeavoured to persuade them to carry on the war, feeding them with hopes that they should be supported by a strong party here." This was answered by Lord Cowper; and because Lord Strafford had not expressed himself with all the purity of the English tongue, his lordship took occasion thence to say, "The noble lord has been so long abroad, that he has almost forgot not only the language but the very constitution of his own country. According to our own laws, it ought never to be suggested as a crime, in the meanest subject, much less in any member of this august assembly, to hold correspondence with our allies; such allies, especially, whose interest her majesty had declared to be inseparable from her own, in her speech at the opening of this session; whereas it would be a hard matter to justify and reconcile, either with our laws, or the laws of honour and justice, the conduct of some persons, in treating clandestinely with the common enemy, without the participation of the allies."

The duke's observations were supported by several excellent speeches from Lords Nottingham, Cowper, and others; yet they had, at that time, no effect. The address was carried by 81 votes against 35. Marlborough and other peers, it is true, signed protests; but they were afterwards expunged from the journals; and this was the last public act of the duke during the queen's reign.

We must here say a few words in regard to the army on the continent under the command of the Duke of Ormond, Marlborough's successor. He had received orders, as we have already stated, to avoid an engagement. This was discovered by Prince Eugene. On the 11th of July the British troops separated from the confederate army. But great was the disappointment of Ormond, when he arrived at the end of the first day's march, to find that, instead of being grateful for having been delivered from the customary toils of a campaign, his troops received him with hisses and murmurs. "The British soldiers," says Cunningham, "were so enraged at this unworthy conduct, that they were observed tearing their hair, and rending their clothes, with furious exclamations and execrable curses against the Duke of Ormond, as a stupid tool, and a general of show. The colonels, captains, and other brave officers, were so overwhelmed with vexation, that they sat apart in their tents, looking on the ground through very shame, with downcast eyes, and for several days shrunk from the sight even of their fellow-soldiers; for it grieved them to the heart, to submit to the disgrace of laying down their arms after so many splendid victories. Some left their colours to serve among the allies, and others afterwards withdrew; and whenever they recol-

lected the Duke of Marlborough and the late glorious times, their eyes flowed with tears."

In the mean time, new difficulties having arisen at Paris, St. John (recently created Viscount Bolingbroke) went to France, where he contrived to arrange the points in dispute between the two governments.

Marlborough having been compelled to retire from public business, was now so harassed with libels and insults, that, to avoid them, he determined on leaving England. For though he seemed, externally, to bear them with all the calmness of Christian fortitude, he was, in reality, but too sensitive in respect to them. He lived now at St. Alban's, his palace at Blenheim not being completed; and there died, (of the stone,) about this time, his best and most attached friend, Lord Godolphin; who, after a long administration, and many false charges of corruption, left his heirs in comparative poverty: his whole property not exceeding £12,000.

The reader, perhaps, will be pleased to learn what the duchess's opinion was in regard to this celebrated character. "He was a man of few words, but of a remarkable thoughtfulness and sedateness of temper; of great application to business, and of such dispatch in it, as to give pleasure to those who attended him upon any affair; of wonderful frugality in the public concerns, but of no great carefulness about his own. He affected being useful without popularity; and the inconsiderable sum of money, above his paternal estate, which he left at his death, showed indeed, that he had been the nation's treasurer, and not his own, and effectually confuted the vile calumnies of his enemies and successors."

This melancholy event fully determined the duke in quitting England: for it had released him from

the strongest tie that bound him to his (then) ungrateful country ; for he was unwilling to leave one—the most faithful of his friends,—labouring under the severest sufferings of a mortal disease. He gave way, therefore, to his inclinations ; for he found, that all the great and glorious deeds he had wrought, were no more thought of than if they had never been ; and that it had become even meritorious to insult him. As to his palace at Blenheim, notwithstanding the promises of the lord treasurer to obtain warrants from the queen, and to expedite the completion of the structure, large arrears were due to the workmen, and considerable sums were claimed by those, who had advanced loans for the same purpose, amounting in the whole to 80,000*l*. Added to this, several prosecutions were going on against him, which we shall take notice of at the proper time.

Thus determined to go, for the present, into exile, he applied, through Mr. Mainwaring, for a passport to Lord Oxford. “ I desire,” said his lordship in reply, “ that you will, with my most humble service, assure your friend, that there have been endeavours from both sides to obstruct granting the pass desired ; yet I shall have the honour of putting it into his hands. I did not think it worth while to trouble you with the obstruction one meets with ; for when I undertook it, I was resolved not to be deterred from finishing it. I am, with great sincerity, &c. &c.”

The objections, above alluded to, are supposed to have been raised by Bolingbroke and several others, on the ground, that Marlborough might be more dangerous abroad than at home. The pass, however, was at length sent ; and Marlborough received, also, a letter from the queen, in which her majesty was

pleased to say, that she should be "well pleased to hear the honourable reception his grace would everywhere meet with;" and, some time after, in a conversation with the Duchess of Hamilton, she condescended to say, that the duke "had acted wisely in going abroad."

The pass was honourably worded; and is thus epitomized by Mr. Coxe. "It permits his grace to go into foreign parts, whithersoever he may think fit, together with his suite, and recommends him to the good offices of all kings, princes, republics, and her majesty's allies, as well as to commanders, &c., her own subjects; allows him to go freely and commodiously wherever his need requires, and states that such good offices shall be acknowledged and returned, when opportunity serves. *Windsor Castle, 30 Oct. 1712.* Countersigned, BOLINGBROKE."

Before quitting England, having become suspicious that the party now in power, might, at the death of their mistress, let in the Stuart family in preference to that of Hanover, he thought it prudent to invest 50,000*l.* in the Dutch funds, as a means of subsistence, in case of that event. He embarked at Dover on the 14th of November: his suite consisting of 2 gentlemen, 3 valets-de-chambre, 1 cook, 3 footmen, coachman, postilion, helper, and 2 grooms: the duchess remaining in England to superintend some few affairs, that required personal attention.

Marlborough did not leave England, without the regret of thousands, among whom may be particularly noted the celebrated Dr. Garth; who addressed to him some energetic lines, from which the following is an extract.

"Go, mighty prince! and those great nations see,
Which thy victorious arms before made free;

View that fam'd column where thy name, engrav'd,
Shall tell their children who their empire sav'd;
Point out that marble where thy worth is shown
To every grateful country but thine own.
O censure undeserv'd! unequal fate,
Which strove to lessen him who made her great,
Which, pamper'd with success, and rich in fame,
Extoll'd his conquests, but condemn'd his name!
But virtue is a crime when plac'd on high,
Though all the fault's in the beholder's eye.
Yet he untouch'd, as in the heat of wars,
Flies from no dangers but domestic jars;
Smiles at the dart which angry envy shakes,
And only fears for her whom he forsakes.
He grieves to find the course of virtue crost,
Blushing to see our blood no better lost;
Disdains in factious parties to contend,
And proves, in absence, most Britannia's friend."

He left Dover on board the North Briton packet as a private passenger; receiving no other honours than that which he received from the voluntary salute of the master of the vessel. This, however, was made up to him on his arrival at Ostend: for the captain having hoisted an ensign on the top-mast head, the town took this as a signal of his grace's being on board, and made a salute of all the cannon towards the sea; and, on the packet-boat entering the harbour, of three rounds of all the artillery on the ramparts, and along the whole road to Aix-la-Chapelle. Though he endeavoured to avoid notice as much as possible, by taking the most private ways, he was entertained with the highest marks of respect and affection by governors, garrisons, magistrates, and people of all ranks. "A finer tribute," says an elegant writer, "was never paid to true greatness. They blessed him as their deliverer, and mingling exclamations against the British cabinet with their expressions of admiration and gratitude towards him, many of them shed tears of indignant feeling, and said, that

it were better to be born in Lapland than in England; for that no nation had ever fallen so unaccountably from such a height of glory and esteem, into such contempt and degradation." They were full of astonishment at the sight of him, and said, "his looks, his air, his address, were full as conquering as his sword." Even a Frenchman was heard to exclaim "Though the sight is worth a million to my king, yet, I believe, he would not, at such a price, have lost the service of so brave a man; particularly at such a time."

Aix-la-Chapelle was the place Marlborough had selected for a residence till the duchess should join him. The day after his arrival, his levee was crowded by all the persons of rank and distinction in the town, who, though of different nations and interests, were unanimous in their expressions of esteem. Amongst these was the Marquis of Lesdisguieres, who, on his return from visiting him, said to the Abbot de Gulistré,—“I can now say, that I have seen a man, who is equal to the Marshal de Turenne in conduct, to the Prince de Condé in courage, and superior in success to the Marshal de Luxembourg.”

The duke, after his first arrival, lived in great privacy, expecting the duchess from day to day, but her grace not arriving so soon as he expected, he quitted Aix, because he had some suspicion of a design to seize his person, and went to Maestricht; where the duchess having soon after joined him, they repaired to Frankfort on the Maine, where they lived several months: at the expiration of which he took the duchess to his principality of Mindelheim, where he was received with all the honours due to a prince of the holy empire.

On returning to Frankfort, news came, that the commissioners had reported some farther charges against him. These he immediately answered in a letter which he sent to one of the peers, requesting him to lay it before the House of Lords; a duplicate of it he sent, also, to Mr. Cragg, to be laid before the House of Commons. This letter had so good an effect, that from that time the public was, says Mr. Coxe, "no longer deluded and unsettled by their malicious and ungrounded accusations." This, however, was not the only grievance Marlborough had to endure at this time. The builders of Blenheim-house had commenced an action for arrears. The queen had given orders for building it with great magnificence; all the bargains with the workmen were made in her name, and by authority from her; and in the preambles of the act of parliament, it was said that the queen built the house for him. Yet now, after the tradesmen had let run an arrear of 30,000*l.*, the ministry let them proceed against the duke, although he had never contracted with any one of them.

The peace came at last! and such a peace England had never submitted to with a foreign power. It was signed in the house of the Bishop of Bristol, Lord Privy Seal, (one of the queen's plenipotentiaries,) on the 11th of April, (1713). The ministers of France signed about two in the afternoon; those of the Duke of Savoy about four; those of Prussia about eight; and those of Portugal about twelve at night. The ministers of the emperor and the empire gave the rest to understand, that they should continue the war. They would hazard all things, they said, rather than submit to the usage they had received. On the 5th of May, it was proclaimed in London; and thanks were

celebrated at St. Paul's ; but the queen, from illness, was unable to assist. On the 16th of July, however, her majesty was sufficiently recovered to prorogue the parliament to the 8th of August ; and on that day it was dissolved. The two houses approved the peace by voting an address, before they were instructed as to the specific articles on which it was granted : after it had been signed, the address in the Commons was carried by a majority of 156 against 72. This was, after all their intrigues, the only specific proof of approbation the ministers were able to obtain. The war had lasted eleven years.

Party will assert anything. There are two accounts as to the manner in which this peace was received. But how the parliament regarded the treaty at the time when George the First received addresses from the two houses, may be seen by what was said. The Lords stated that " the peace was, by no means, to be imputed to the nation in general," and the Commons declared—" We are sensibly touched not only with the disappointment, but with the reproach brought upon the nation, by the unjustifiable conclusion of a war, which was carried on at so vast an expense, and was attended with such unparalleled successes ; but as that dishonour cannot in justice be imputed to the whole nation, so we firmly hope and believe, that through your majesty's great wisdom, and the faithful endeavours of your Commons, the reputation of these your kingdoms will, in due time, be vindicated and restored."

Marlbrough received intelligence of the peace during his residence at Frankfort ; soon after which he removed to Antwerp, where he held a correspondence with the Elector of Hanover and the leaders of the Hanoverian interest in England, holding himself

in readiness to embark for England, on the demise of the queen, with as ample a body of troops as he could collect together.

We must now, for a few moments, refer to the affairs of Germany. The emperor, and the various powers constituting what is called the empire, having refused to sign the articles at Utrecht, continued the campaign upon the Rhine; but Prince Eugene having received several checks and endured some reverses, negotiations were entered into at Rastadt, and articles of peace were, at length, entered into. We have no room to state the terms of pacification, but the result was rather unfortunate for Marlborough; for the emperor, soon after, caused it to be notified to him that the principality of Mindelheim had been restored to the Elector of Bavaria. On learning this, Marlborough lost no time in transmitting a memorial to the emperor, through Prince Eugene. All appeal, however, was ineffectual. The only justice he could obtain was a recognition of his being a prince of the empire, and a promise of indemnification. This indemnification Marlborough had never the good fortune to receive; leaving the loss of it a stigma upon the emperor, and all those, except the Elector of Bavaria, who had any hand in the affair. David might well exclaim, "Put not your trust in princes."

The queen had for some time been afflicted with repeated illnesses, and it became evident that life could be preserved but for a comparatively short period; a grand struggle, therefore, was expected between the various parties of the state as to which interest should prevail at her majesty's death—the Stewart line and popery, or the Hanoverian line and protestantism.

Oxford and Bolingbroke had now become rivals.

Oxford was prime minister, enjoying the confidence of the queen; Bolingbroke was, nevertheless, creeping fast into her majesty's esteem *. A new parliament having been chosen, Sir Thomas Hammer was again chosen Speaker. Oxford was supposed to be attached to the protestant line; Bolingbroke, to the popish one: but the parliament no longer consisted of two parties, ready to sacrifice every thing to their prejudices, interests, and principles. It was a fluctuating mass, the varied opinions of which it was exceedingly difficult to ascertain. Marlborough, in the mean time, was charged with the folly of being at this moment corresponding with the Pretender, and intriguing with Bolingbroke to secure his succession. This calumny was soon refuted. The queen, however, was supposed to be inclined to the restoration of the exiled party; and so thoroughly was this believed, that we are informed that men "were almost publicly enlisted for the service of the Pretender; and his health was openly pledged at numerous meetings and clubs, held by Jacobites of all ranks and denominations in the metropolis. The army was beginning to be new-modelled; colonels were removed from their regiments, and replaced by others of the Stewart party; governors were deprived of their posts, and superseded by those of adverse principles; and the direction of affairs in Ireland and Scotland was entrusted to the hands of Jacobites."

* The Duchess of Marlborough endorses one of St. John's letters thus:—"I need not say any thing of Mr. St. John's behaviour to the Duke of Marlborough, when he got into power, by Lady Abigail; but 'tis certain that the Duke of Marlborough never was so kind to any man as to him: and I have heard my Lord Godolphin say, that he never had any thing to reproach himself of, in the whole time that he served the queen, but in complying with the Duke of Marlborough in doing unreasonable things, in point of money, for Mr. St. John, at the Duke of Marlborough's request."

Few things, therefore, were more dreaded by Bolingbroke and his partisans than the return of Marlborough. He was, however, too wise to return at present; since that return would only have exposed him to further calumnies and renewed persecutions; and, so far was he from corresponding with the Stuarts, he was actually planning, and coinciding with others, in securing the succession of the Elector of Hanover. He even offered to assist him with a loan of twenty thousand pounds. "So gratified, indeed," says Mr. Coke, "was the electoral house with these proofs of his zeal, that, in return, he was entrusted with a blank warrant, appointing him commander-in-chief of the troops and garrisons, on the accession of the Hanoverian line to the throne."

Soon after this, the elector's friends encouraged Baron Schutz to apply for a writ of summons, to call the electoral prince, who had already been created Duke of Cambridge, to the House of Lords. The application was answered by the Lord Chancellor, that it was not usual to issue writs to peers, who resided out of the kingdom. On this, the baron, to the astonishment of the chancellor, answered: "My lord, the prince intends residing in the kingdom, and may be expected here even before the writ can be issued." The writ was therefore granted; but when the queen heard of what had passed, she was so agitated and alarmed, that the baron was forbid the court; he therefore lost no time in returning to Hanover, with the writ in his pocket.

While communicating with the court of Hanover, and labouring to advance its interests in England, Marlborough was no less active in awakening the States-general to a sense of the danger to which they would be exposed, should the ministry of the queen

succeed in overthrowing the British constitution. He employed no small time and labour, too, in the endeavour to restore harmony between the States and the emperor.

To disguise the plan of restoration more fully, the ministry made great professions to the elector; and even sent over Mr. Harley to convey testimonies of the queen's solicitude for the Protestant succession. To counteract the effects that might arise from this mission, Marlborough sent Mr. Molyneux to the elector; with a view of exposing the duplicity of the lord-treasurer, and the danger of listening to his overtures. At the same time, he urgently recommended that the electoral prince should go immediately to England. "Luckily," said his grace, in a letter to Mr. Robethon, "this session of parliament is to continue for two months longer, as no supplies are yet found; so that the electoral prince will have time enough, before the end of it, to arrive and take his seat in parliament; in which case, the balance will incline entirely to your side, as it begins to do already, upon the mere rumour of his coming; so that you may judge what effect his presence would produce. Accordingly, our friends write to me, in that case the parliament will not rise before they have settled a pension of 40,000*l.* sterling, for a subsistence for the prince, who will have nothing to do but to make his court to the queen, and caress the ministers, without meddling with any thing. By this remedy, the succession will be secured without risk, without expense, and without war; and, likewise, it is very probable that France, seeing herself prevented in that manner, will abandon her design of assisting the Pretender."

At this period the Electress Sophia died; some

suppose in consequence of the agitation she had encountered on the state of affairs. She was a very remarkable personage; eighty-four years of age; retaining her faculties both of mind and body in a very striking degree; and so animated with the ambition of being queen, that she was often heard to say—"Could I live to have Sophia, Queen of England, engraven on my coffin, I should die content." Had she lived only three months longer, her wishes had been gratified. "Thus died this excellent princess," says Lediard, "whom I frequently had the honour of seeing with great satisfaction, and who was, to the very day of her death, I think, the finest woman I ever saw of her age." She was daughter of Frederick, the unfortunate king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, only daughter of King James the First.

Oxford was now losing ground every day with the queen. But he was not dismissed till he had become no longer peculiarly useful to the court of Versailles and St. Germain, who felt no longer able to confide in his promises. Bolingbroke succeeded as their agent. He was appointed minister. But no other change was notified at the time the queen resumed the white staff: for a violent altercation took place between the rivals, in her majesty's presence. It was kept up till two in the morning. The dispute was exceedingly warm, and Oxford permitted himself to exclaim, that, "as he had been wronged by lies and misrepresentations, he would leave some people even as low as he had found them."

The removal of the treasurer was so sudden, and occasioned such confusion, that there was great difficulty in determining how to supply his place, or to fill up such other vacancies as naturally attended

his disgrace. The 29th of July, the cabinet council was to have sat on this affair ; but their meeting was put off to the next day, on account of the queen's illness, which, probably, if not occasioned, was at least increased, by these uneasinesses ; and she is reported to have said to one of her physicians, " I cannot outlive it ! "

The council sat the next day, when the Dukes of Argyle and Somerset, having advice that her majesty's life was in danger, repaired with all speed to Kensington ; and, without being summoned, went into the council chamber, where they found the lord-chancellor, the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Ormond, the three secretaries of state, the Bishop of London, and some others, assembled in committee. On entering the room, they stated that the cause of their appearance arose from their having learnt that the queen was in great danger ; and that they had come, in consequence, to offer their assistance. The Duke of Shrewsbury thanked them for their offer.

The physicians were called in ; and they having reported that her majesty was in imminent danger, it was resolved that the post of lord-treasurer should be filled without delay. Bolingbroke acquiesced ; and while he was expecting that the next motion would place him at the head of the government, great was his astonishment, when one of the council,—it is not stated who,—proposed that the person who should be recommended to her majesty, ought to be the Duke of Shrewsbury. " Bolingbroke and his partisans," says Mr. Coxe, " were thunderstruck ! " They made no opposition, however, and a deputation waited upon the queen to inform her what was the unanimous opinion of the council, when her majesty

was pleased to signify her assent by saying, that they could not have recommended a person she liked better. Then giving him the treasurer's staff, she bade him use it "for the good of her people." The duke, therefore, was at that moment not only lord-treasurer, but lord-chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Immediate measures were now taken to secure the succession; and an express dispatched to Hanover to entreat the elector to lose no time in repairing to Holland, where, on the demise of her majesty, a fleet would be dispatched to convey him to England. This letter was sent express by the younger Craggs; and by him, also, were dispatched orders to the Earl of Strafford to urge the States-general to be in readiness to perform the guaranty of the Protestant succession, if need should require.

The physicians, despairing of the queen's life, the life-guards were summoned on duty, as well as the herald of arms. When the queen died, therefore, which she did at seven o'clock in the evening, (Aug. 1, 1714,) the Elector of Hanover was immediately proclaimed under the title of George the First. Her majesty was in the 50th year of her age, and the 13th of her reign.

Previous to this event, Marlborough had signified to the elector, as well as to his friends in England, that it was his intention shortly to return to his native land; a country which the duchess loved so much, that, in a letter to one of her correspondents, she makes use of this ardent expression: "I had rather die in a cottage in England than live in a palace abroad." In a letter to Mrs. Clayton she writes thus:

“ Ostend, July 30, 1714.

“I am sure, my dear friend will be glad to hear, that we are come well to this place, where we wait for a fair wind, and, in the mean time, are in a very clean house, and every thing good but water. ’Tis not to be told, in this letter, the affection and respect shown to the Duke of Marlborough, in every place where he goes, which always makes me remember our governors in a manner that is natural to do ; and, upon this journey, one thing has happened that was surprising and very pretty. The Duke of Marlborough continued it so as to avoid going into the great towns, as much as he could, and for that reason went a little out of the way, not to go through Ghent ; but the chief magistrates, hearing where he was to pass, met him upon the road, and prepared a very handsome breakfast for all that were with us, where one of their ladies stayed to do the honours ; and there was in the company, a very considerable churchman that was lame, and had not been out of his room for some time, but he would give himself this trouble. This is to show you how the Roman Catholics in these countries love those that have served them well. Among the governors of this town, there were a great many officers, that came out with them afoot ; and I was so much surprised and touched at their kindness, that I could not speak to the officers without a good deal of concern, saying I was sorry for what they did, fearing it might hurt them. To which they replied very politely or ignorantly, I don’t know which, ‘ Sure it was not possible for them to suffer for having done their duty.’ The next day Mr. Sutton met us, with other officers, and did a great many civilities in bringing wine, and very good fruit ; but I was not so surprised at that, because he is so well with the ministers, that he may do what he pleases. The Duke of Marlborough has determined to stay here till he has a very fair wind and good weather, and not to be at London till three or four days after he lands at Dover, because we have so many horses and servants, that we can’t travel fast. I long to embrace my dear Mrs. Clayton, and I hope I shall never part from her again for any long time, though I have as ill an opinion of public

affairs as ever, but I would fain end my life in England with my friends, if I can, and must submit to popery or any thing that cannot be helped. My humble service to Mr. Clayton, and to anybody that you think cares to hear of me."

This letter was written at Ostend, to which place the duke had removed, in order to take his passage to England. He was detained several days there by contrary winds. At length he got out of port, when, after a stormy passage, his grace and the duchess landed at Dover on the 1st of August; being the day on which the new king was proclaimed. Previous to his landing, the vessel was boarded by a messenger from the postmaster-general, who conveyed to him the intelligence that the queen had expired, and that the Elector of Hanover had been proclaimed as his successor. On the approach of the vessel, though the mayor and jurats at that time were unacquainted with the change that had taken place, the thunder of artillery resounded from the platform, and the corporation in a body, amid thousands of spectators, hailed the duke with every indication of exultation and joy. His grace lay that night at the house of his devoted friend, Sir Henry Furnese, whence he had taken his departure for his voluntary exile. He proceeded thence to Sittingbourne, accompanied by a great many gentlemen; but he was there mortified by the intelligence, that neither Lord Sunderland nor himself were included in the list of the lords justices. He bore this with his usual magnanimity, and passed on towards London, intending to enter the metropolis in privacy; but in this he failed; for he was met by Sir Charles Cox, one of the members for Southwark, with about 200 substantial inhabitants, who escorted him through

the borough on horseback ; and as he passed through the city to St. James's, he was again escorted by many of the first merchants and others on horseback, with several of the nobility and gentry, in coaches, some of which were drawn by six horses. The people every where crowded to see his grace, and thousands made loud and joyful exclamations of "Long live the king !" and "Long live the Duke of Marlborough !"

When the duke had made his last appearance at court, no one had taken the slightest notice of him. When he arrived at St. James's, however, on his return from the continent, he was, the day after his arrival, visited by most of the foreign ministers, and many of the nobility, gentry, and officers of the army. He was sworn of the privy council : and immediately after made his appearance in the House of Lords ; on his way to which his sedan was followed through the Park by crowds of soldiers and other persons, cheering him all the way with loud huzzas.

The queen was still unburied, and the king had not yet arrived. All business, therefore, rested with the lords justices, who formed the regency. But the king losing no time, his majesty arrived at Greenwich on the 18th ; where he was greeted at the palace in the park by a splendid assemblage of noblemen and gentlemen. No one, at this greeting, appeared with more magnificence than the duke ; his late sufferings having added a new lustre to that he had been accustomed to appear in, when he returned, in glory and triumph, from his victorious campaigns. Nor was there any person, to whom the new king showed more distinguishing marks of esteem and favour : and this though he never forgot, or forgave him, for not having commu-

nicated to him his intended operations of that campaign, in which Brabant and Flanders had been recovered. The duke, also, attended the king on his entry into the metropolis, and shared the acclamations of the populace with the new sovereign.

Previous to his majesty's arrival, Marlborough, at the instance of the duchess, formed a resolution to hold no official situation under the new government. "I begged of the duke upon my knees," says her grace, "that he would never accept of any employment. I said that every body, that liked the revolution, and the security of the law, had a great esteem for him; that he had a greater fortune than he wanted; and that a man, who had had such success, with such an estate, would be of more use to any court, than they would be of to him: that I would live civilly with them, if they were so to me; but would never put it into the power of any thing to use me ill. He was entirely of this opinion, and determined to quit all, and serve them only when he could act honestly, and do his country service at the same time."

A new ministry was appointed on the arrival of the king. Lord Cowper was made lord chancellor: Lord Wharton, with the dignity of a marquis, privy seal; the Duke of Shrewsbury lord chamberlain; the Duke of Somerset master of the horse, and the Duke of Devonshire lord high-steward. Marlborough,—forgetting the resolution he had so recently formed, was re-appointed captain-general of the land forces, colonel of the 1st regt. of foot-guards, and master of the ordnance. His son-in-law, the young Lord Godolphin, was made cofferer of the household, and the Earl of Bridgewater, who held the same relation to him, was made lord chamberlain to the prince's

household. His other son-in-law, Lord Sunderland, was also appointed to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. Marlborough, however, soon felt, that his authority was reduced to a mere shadow of what it once had been.

Nearly the first business of importance in the new reign was to call Oxford and Bolingbroke to an account for the late dishonourable peace. Oxford, in consequence of an impeachment, was committed to the tower: Bolingbroke, conscious of guilt, fled from the justice of his country; followed by the Duke of Ormond, who was charged with having acted incorrectly with the French general. The Duke of Marlborough assisted in these impeachments by his votes; but he took no part in the debates.

Not long after his re-appointment to the captain-generalship, a circumstance occurred, which, though trifling in itself, might have been of serious consequence. The guards, of whom the duke was colonel, had been supplied with clothing very coarse in quality. They were, therefore, so indignant, that as a detachment of them marched through the city to relieve guard at the Tower, they pulled out their shirts and showed them to the shop-keepers and passers by; exclaiming "These are the Hanover shirts." This coming to the ears of the court, Marlborough, who had known nothing about this coarse linen before, ordered it to be burnt, and, three days after, addressed his regiment in the following manner:—

"GENTLEMEN,—I am much concerned to find your complaints so just, about the ill state of your clothes. I take this opportunity to tell you, that I am wholly innocent of this grievance; and depend upon it, no application shall be wanting on my part, to trace out the measures

that have been taken to abuse you and me: I am resolved nothing shall prevent me from demanding forthwith, (wherever it may happen to fall,) a satisfaction, and shall think nothing too much, on my part, in regard to so much merit. I have ordered you a new set of clothing, such as will every way be becoming his majesty's first regiment of foot-guards. I desire you will return these, and take your old, till such time as the new can be compleated, which, I give you my word, shall be as soon as possible. I have had the honour to serve with some of you, a great many campaigns, and believe you will do me the justice to tell the world, that I never willingly wronged one of you; and if I can be serviceable to any (the least) of you, you may readily command it, and shall be glad of any opportunity for that purpose. I hope I shall now leave you good subjects to the best of kings, and every way entirely satisfied."

On hearing this, the soldiers signified their joy in loud shouts; and the duke gave to each company a barrel of beer to drink his majesty's health. And here we may go a little back, and state the duke's opposition to two clauses, proposed in the House of Peers to be inserted in the bill, then under discussion, for the regulation of the land-taxes. One of these clauses was to the effect of confining the regiments to their stations in every part of the British dominions. The duke argued to the effect, that "his majesty having trusted his royal person and family entirely in the hands of the nation, and, at the opening of the sessions, told the parliament, that what they should judge necessary for their safety, he should think sufficient for his own, the least they could do for his majesty was, to leave to his wisdom and direction the disposal of the few troops that were kept on foot." This clause was expunged: and another, equally important and impolitic, shared the same fate. This was a motion to exclude all foreign

officers from the British service. "To exclude," argued his grace, "officers who, like the French refugees, have, for above 25 years, served England with disinterested zeal and untainted fidelity, would be a piece of injustice unprecedented in the most barbarous nations."

Though the Elector of Hanover had succeeded quietly to the throne of England, he was not permitted to enjoy it with the same tranquillity. Louis still permitted the Pretender to remain in Lorraine; and Bolingbroke and Ormond so far instigated the Jacobites in England and Scotland, that a rising in favour of the exile was expected every day. A plan was even laid for the embarkation and landing of the hostile chief. A reward, therefore, of 100,000*l.* was offered to whomsoever should succeed in seizing him, dead or alive: and all necessary regulations were established, both by land and sea, for resisting foreign invasion and maintaining internal tranquillity.

We might now proceed to give account of the breaking out, pursuit, and suppression of the rebellion; but as that has been done by so many already, we shall only observe, that the Duke of Marlborough, as captain-general of the forces, gave such orders for its suppression, as very soon brought it to a termination. It is necessary, however, to state, that Preston, which was the place where the rebels received their overthrow, was the very spot in which the duke had predicted they would receive it. Louis XIV. having died in the interim, most of the malcontents were inclined to suppose, the subject was entirely at an end; but, in the midst of it, the Pretender, loth to give up his hopes, embarked at Dunkirk, and arrived, incognito, at Peterhead on the 22d of December; and a few days after

was hailed as king at Fetterose ; from whence he proceeded to Dundee ; and thence to Scone.

On the 16th of January he there held a general council of the clans. "The gracefulness of his person," says Mr. Coxe, "the glowing energy of his language, the recollection of his misfortunes, the admiration excited by his courage, made a deep impression on hearts burning with loyalty and devotion to the blood of their native princes. The effect was heightened by the sublimity of the mountain scenery, the romantic dress and arms of the highlands, and the solemn grandeur of the royal palace, which recalled to mind the splendid scenes of Scottish glory." This beautiful delusion, however, was soon at an end. Perceiving the impossibility of success, the disappointed chief deserted his adherents, and, embarking clandestinely on board a French vessel, gave up the enterprise.

This was the last scene of public action, in which our illustrious hero acted a part : and here we must be permitted to dwell, for a moment, on the griefs, which clouded his latter days. His only surviving son he had lost in the bloom and hilarity of youth. His third daughter, the Countess of Bridgewater, he had lost in the 26th year of her age. Soon after the return of himself and the duchess from the continent, they lost, also, the duke's favourite daughter, Anne, Countess of Sunderland. His grace had not recovered from the shock he received from the loss, when he was seized with so violent a paralytic affection, that he was deprived of all speech and sensation. By the happy skill of Sir Samuel Garth, however, he was soon enabled to go to Bath, to drink the waters. On approaching that city he was greeted by the peal of bells, a numerous cavalcade, and shouting multitudes;

and the mayor and corporation waiting upon him expressed many ardent wishes for his health.

His grace received great benefit from the waters, and remained at Bath till he was enabled to proceed to Blenheim, where he arrived on the 18th of October; and is said to have expressed great satisfaction at seeing a palace,—though still incompleted—which reminded him forcibly of former scenes of action and glory. While here, he received another attack; and no one expected him to live. He recovered, however, so far as to be able to be conveyed to Marlborough house, London. He still retained his memory; and his understanding was but little impaired. The passage of the poet—

“ From Marlborough’s eyes the streams of dotage flow,”

is a mere fable. Till within a few months of his death, he was a frequenter of parliament, and occasionally assisted in committees, appointed to draw up addresses; and Mr. Coxe assures us, that he performed the functions of captain-general, and master of the ordnance, with his accustomed regularity. He, nevertheless, wished to resign those employments; and did tender his resignation by Lord Sunderland: but the king refused to accept it. “Marlborough’s retirement,” said his majesty, “would give me as much pain as if a dagger should be plunged into my bosom.” It is stated, however, by competent authorities, that though he was induced to remain, he was, from this time, a mere cipher; and exposed to repeated slights and mortifications even in his own departments. He interested himself, therefore, in few public acts; but the impeachment of Lord Oxford had his hearty concurrence. Oxford, nevertheless, escaped from the charges of

which he was accused, by a trick of party ; and though Marlborough may not be supposed to have cared greatly in his present condition, Erasmus Lewis asserts, that the duchess was "distracted with disappointment."

During the time of the South-sea scheme, the duke took several shares. The duchess, however, afterwards, persuaded him to sell out. He did so ; and realised the sum of no less than 100,000*l*. Some time after which the duke was suddenly summoned to the house of his son-in-law, Lord Sunderland. When he arrived, he was informed that a charge was going the round of society, that the duchess was implicated in a plot to restore the Pretender. On his return, perceiving the duke somewhat chagrined, the duchess inquired the cause. "I have been to Sunderland's," answered his grace. "He accuses you of a plot to restore the Pretender ; and of furnishing him with a sum of money." The duchess treated this accusation at first with great contempt ; but she wrote afterwards to the king respecting it, and also condescended to engage the friendship of the king's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal ; but so little success attended these applications, that she became, from that period, alienated from the court, and soon fell into violent opposition to the government. About two years after this, lord Sunderland died, leaving himself indebted to his father-in-law, in the sum of 10,000*l*. His younger children were taken under the protection of the duchess.

We must now say a few words in respect to Blenheim. That noble estate was given the duke by Queen Anne, on account of his victory, which it will ever immortalise. We have no occasion to enter into any detail in respect to it. Mr. Coxe has de-

voted an entire chapter to it ; and the issue is proved to be that if Marlborough had not had it finished at his own expense, this proud monument of national glory would have remained in its ruins, a striking monument of the queen's fickleness and of the meanness of her ministers. From a strict investigation of the accounts, it appears, that the expenditure on the part of the public was 240,000*l.* ; and on those of the duke and his widow 60,000*l.* more : making a total of 300,000*l.*

In respect to the state of the duke's faculties at this period, no authority can be so good as that of the Duchess. " I think it proper in this place," says her grace, " to give an account of the Duke of Marlborough's distemper. He was taken very ill at St. Alban's, in May, 1716, with the palsy, but he recovered it so much as to go to Bath. He lived till June 15, 1722 ; and though he had often returns of this illness, he went many journeys, and was in all appearance well ; excepting that he could not pronounce all words, which is common in that distemper ; but his understanding was as good as ever."

The duke passed the last of his life sometimes at Blenheim ; sometimes at Holloway-house, near St. Alban's ; and lastly at Windsor-lodge. His private habits are described by Mr. Coxe :—" His habits of life were perfectly domestic, and did not bely the fond anxiety he had manifested, while engaged in busier scenes, for the society of his family and friends. His favourite and constant exercise was riding, either in a carriage or on horseback ; and whenever his health permitted, in walking round his grounds, particularly at Blenheim, where he delighted to contemplate his own erection. His amusements consisted in the company of his friends, whom he was accustomed to

receive without ceremony ; or in the recreation of cards. He played at ombre, bisset, and picquet, sometimes with his grand-children at commerce ; but his favourite game was whist."

He took great pleasure, also, in superintending the education of his grand-daughter ; and the recreations of his house were varied by dramatic exhibitions. At length nature gave him notice, that he had but a few days to live. He had been conveyed from Marlborough-house to Windsor-lodge ; where, towards the beginning of June, he was again attacked by a violent paroxysm of the palsy. He lay several days fully sensible of his almost immediate dissolution ; and prayers having been offered up at his bed-side, the duchess asked him if he heard them ? " Yes," answered his grace, " and joined in them." He was lying on a couch ; but having signified his desire to be conveyed to a bed, he was taken there ; when, towards four in the morning, he calmly resigned his spirit to Him that gave it : dying on the 15th of June (1722) ; not completely seventy-three years by seven days.

Thus closed the days of this immortal hero ; whom five monarchs had employed in their armies and councils. He was conveyed to Marlborough-house, where he lay in state for some time, and was afterwards taken to Westminster Abbey ; his funeral exhibiting a display seldom equalled ; passing through St. James's Park, the Upper Park, thence through Piccadilly, down St. James's-street, through Pall-mall, and by Charing-cross, through King-street to Westminster Abbey : where it was interred with every indication of honour and glory. This interment, however, was only for a time ; the body being afterwards taken up and carried to the chapel at

Blenheim; where it was deposited in a magnificent mausoleum executed by Rysbrack, at the instance, and under the superintendence, of her grace the duchess. The duke died immensely rich; so rich that it is stated in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for 1732, that the duchess subscribed 300,000*l.* on the salt duty; and Sir Robert Walpole says in a letter to Lord Townshend, that she was able not only to control the public loans, in some degree, but to affect the rate of interest. The duke's income at his death, besides what he enjoyed from the gifts of the Crown, is stated to have been not less than 70,000*l.* per annum.

The duke's will had been written about one year before his death. We have no space for this document; and indeed it differs so little from other testamentary papers, that it is only necessary to state, that it shows the great affection he had for the duchess; and the anxiety he had to provide for the welfare of those, who might succeed to his title.* The trustees under the will were the duchess, his three sons-in-law, the Dukes of Montagu and Bridgewater, and Lord Godolphin; William Guydot, William Clayton, and John Hanbury, Esquires.

The duchess survived her illustrious husband not less than twenty-two years; dying at the age of eighty-four, in 1744. The love she had for the duke may in no small degree be imagined from the following anecdote:—though sixty-two, she still possessed some attractions; insomuch that she was sought in marriage by Lord Coningsby and the Duke

* The duke was succeeded in his honours by his daughter, Henrietta, married to Francis, Earl of Godolphin. This is the Duchess of Marlborough, to whom Congreve left 10,000*l.*; and not the first duchess, as is generally supposed.

of Somerset. What her answer was to the former is,* we believe, nowhere upon record. That to the Duke of Somerset is highly characteristic, and greatly to be admired:—"Marriage is very unsuitable at my age; but were I only thirty, I would not permit even the emperor of the world to succeed in that heart, which has been, all my life, devoted to John, Duke of Marlborough!"†

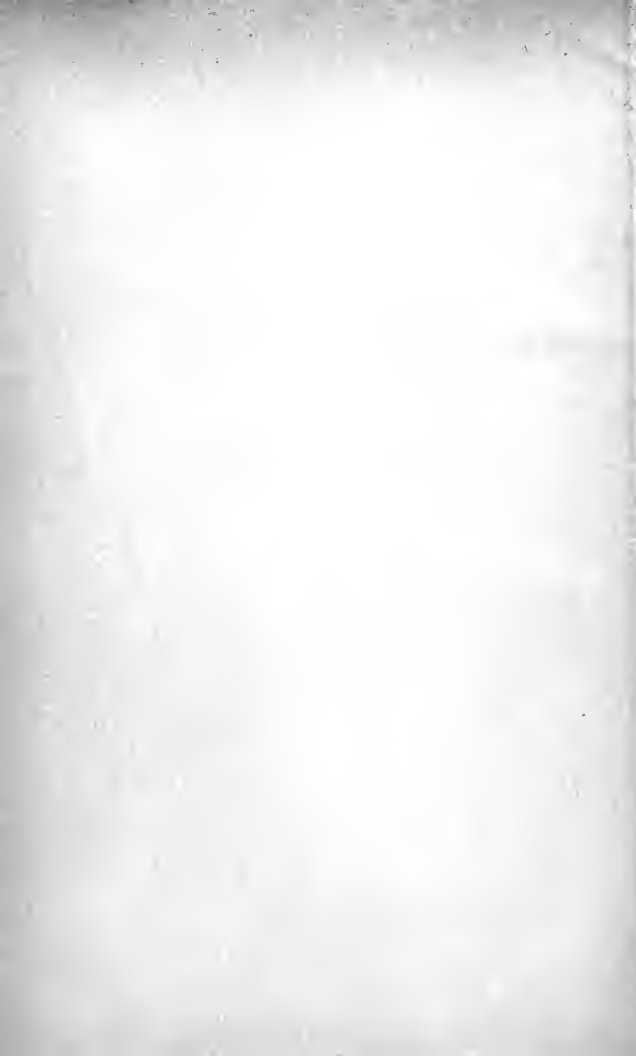
* Lord Coningsby proposed, about six months after the duke's death. "To my dearest, dearest Lady Marlborough alone I could open the inmost recesses of my loaded heart, and by her exalted wisdom find relief! Whither to go, or how to dispose of a life entirely devoted to you, I know not, till I receive your orders and commands. * * * I live in hopes that the great and glorious Creator of the world, who does and must direct all things, will direct you to make me the happiest man upon the face of the earth, and enable me to make my dearest, dearest Lady Marlborough, as she is the wisest and best, the happiest of women!"

Of this ardent lover Godolphin had written to the duke thus:—"I have had a letter from Lord Coningsby, whose judgment and experience, in all the affairs of parliament, I value much." He is also celebrated by Pope.

† In the latter part of her life her grace became bed-ridden; paper, pens, and ink, were placed beside her; and her favourite amusement consisted in noting down her opinions and recollections, several of which have been published. "It is seldom," says Lord Orford, who ranked her among his royal and noble authors, "that the public receives information on princes and favourites from the fountain-head; flattery or invective is apt to pervert the relations of others. It is from their own pens alone, whenever they are so gracious, like the lady in question, as to have a passion for fame and approbation, that we learn exactly how trifling, foolish, and ridiculous, their views and actions were, and how often the mischief they did proceeded from the most inadequate causes."

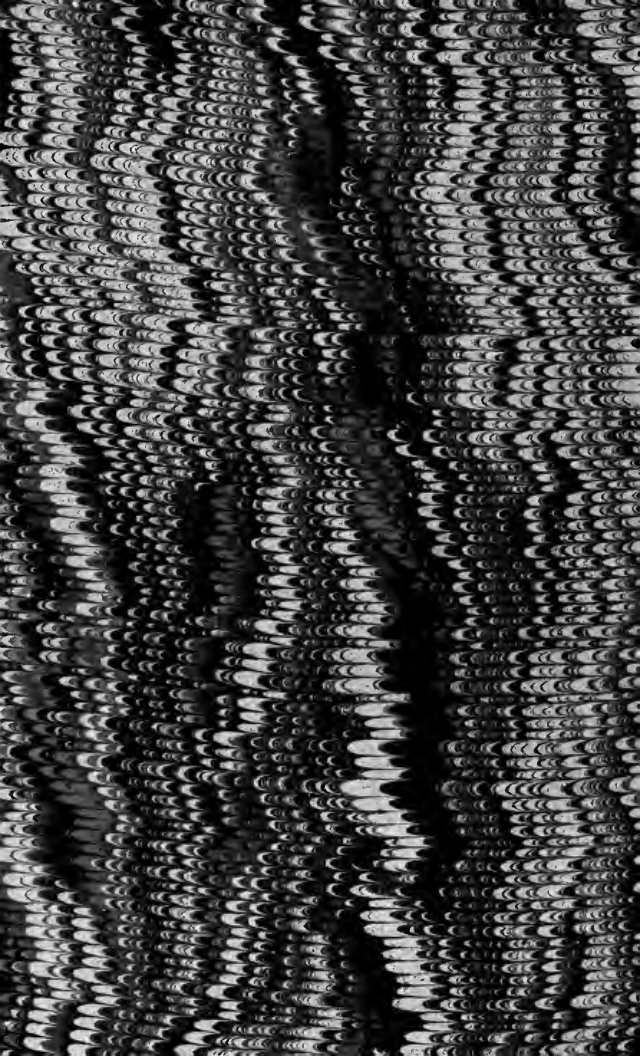
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